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NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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SUDAN

COMMISSIONER OF WESTERN EQUATORIA PROVINCE INTERVIEWED

Khartoum GUIDING STAR in English 26 Mar 87 p 6

[Text] The Guiding Star Newspaper interviewed the Military Commissioner of Western Equatoria Province Col. (PSC) Dominic Kassiano in Khartoum on Tuesday March 10, 1987.

Guiding Star: A lot of protests have come from your province especially in Yambio and Terebura district about the Da'awa Islamia project due to start in Yambio. What are the facts about this project?

Col. (PSC) Dominic Kassiano: Thank you very much to conduct this interview with me about the mentioned project due to start at Sakure junction in Yambio. When I took office as the Province Commissioner, there were a lot of problems which need time to explain but my attention was drawn to the area of essential services. In fact there have not been any services for the people of Western Equatoria in general... I, then thought it wise to call for a socio-economic conference which was held in December 1985 in Yambio and was attended by Heads of Departments, intellectuals chiefs, citizens and Government representatives from outside the province.. The

resolutions of this conference helped us very much because one of the important resolutions was that Donor Organizations should be encouraged to render services to the province. I, left after the conference for Khartoum and presented these resolutions to the Hon. members of the August Assembly, from Western Equatoria Province and Hon. Elisama Torosa was among them. We jointly exerted our efforts in search of education facilities, medicines and so many things from various organizations including UNICEF and Da'awa el Islamia headquarters in Khartoum. In this process some organizations promised to help us and that they would contact us when they were ready. El Da'awa promised to extend their services to Western Equatoria, Province just like what they have done in Eastern Equatoria Province e.g. the Sabah Children Hospital in Juba and a number of schools.

They also promised to introduce a mechanized farm. The Director of El Da'awa Islamia visited the province and an agreement was reached for the site of the said project at the junction of Sakure on Nzara road.

We held a meeting which was attended by over 85 intellectuals who agreed on the construction of the project.

The second meeting was attended by Honourable Elisama Torosa, MP for Yambio centre, and in this meeting the people were enlightened on the project. In a democratic manner the meeting voted for the project and 94 voted for it, only 7 voted against and 21 abstained. According to my understanding the two meetings had supported the go-ahead of the project.

There had been pressure from Christian societies and leaders of churches in Yambio on religious ground. But to me the project has nothing to do with religion and it will not Islamize the

Azande and the project is not the continuation of Sharia laws. What I know is that Southerners object to Sharia and therefore are the people of Yambio.

Quiding Star: As you put it; that 98 people voted for the project; is that the same number that voted for the committee supposed to study the project? And is the project suspended or not.

Col. (PSC) Dominic Kassiano: Well, the fifteen men were chosen by those who voted for the project during the second meeting which was attended by Hon Elisama Torosa. Their task was to study the areas of allegations, that is about the land allotted; to what I know the people of Da'awa Islamia actually demanded 1400 feddans of land but only 200 meters was given and we have record for that. In that area they were to build a hospital, three schools and a mechanized sort of agriculture. The second stage was to find out what kind of interest the people will have in that project and the sort of schools to be constructed. And to me the answer is simple; no school will function without our directives and that they must be run under the regulations that govern all the schools in the Sudan. Even if the Da'awa Islamia supply the equipment and the staff, they are not going to work out of our system and these are the areas to be studied by the committee. The committee will later present their report in another meeting for scrutiny.

After scrutiny, it will be handed over to the Manager of Da'awa to bless or not... What I know is that the Director of Da'awa Islamia made it clear that if the people were suspicious, they will take the project to an area of interest, where people need such services. The project is not really suspended but there is a workshop underway.

Quiding Star: In your speech on the occasion, January 31, you said that Da'awa Islamia is a moslem organization like any other organizations but why is the project situated deep among the citizens? And not in the Town? And what are the reactions of the Youth, Churchmen and other societies?

Col. (PSC) Dominic Kassiano: Well the two meetings were attended by representatives of the various categories of people including the church. The setting of this project to me is that in future Nzara and Yambio might link up. The second point is that the population is growing fast in that area and they will need services even as far as the junction of Li-Rangu.

As Christians the disputes among the churches is a different thing and the government on one hand and its services to the citizens when we worked out this project we put religion aside as agreed by Da'awa Islamia.

Just like what Archbishop Paulino Lukudu and Bishop Gabriel Duatuka are doing everybody is proud of them for they are fighting the

enemies of development, ignorance, illiteracy, disease, and poverty.

Quiding Star: We have learnt that the Secretary-General of the Azande Welfare Association was detained after presenting a paper which in turn rejected the project. How far true is this!?

Col. (PSC) Dominic Kassiano:

It is not true. We have not detained any person who democratically expressed his or her opinion. What appeared in Sudan Times sometimes from Hon. Elisama Torosa that I threatened... are all lies.

Quiding Star: To your conviction is El Da'awa offering a totally humanitarian project or sometime composed of both religious and cultural objectives?

Col. (PSC) Dominic Kassiano:

El Da'awa has nothing to do with the culture of the people because when we educate a person or give him medicine to cure himself from diseases we don't touch peoples' beliefs or culture. And you don't islamize a person when you cure him. Any person is free to choose his or her religion. Islamization will not be stopped by church leaders nor by rejecting the Da'awa project. There are so many Southerners who are Muslims and Northerners who are Christians an example is Bishop Mubarak, as a northerner no body can stop him from being a christian.

Quiding Star: El Da'awa Islamiya is reported to have participated in the completion of Yambio Civil Hospital, do you have any other terms with them to extend the hospital or completion of the Provincial headquarters?

Col (PSC) Dominic Kassiano:

The two schemes you have mentioned are government schemes. The Province Headquarters was started by the people and the government came in and is almost finishing now. Yes, El Da'awa supplied Yambio Hospital with medicines and other medical equipments and are eager still to assist even in our schools and those they are trying to construct.

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CSO: 4500/82

FUEL SHORTAGE SAID TO BE IMMINENT

Khartoum SUDAN TIMES in English 30 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Sudan Times Special Report.

Sudan is likely to experience a serious shortage of fuel and other petroleum products soon, unless new arrangements are made within the next month or so. The country has less than three months supplies left, according to sources in the Energy sector. These are quantities which had been contracted for in the past and which are presently flowing into the country.

The country has experienced some recent difficulties in negotiating arrangements for the next period when the present quantities run out. One of the sources which has been helping, Libya, has become even more complicated now by the present problem of its troops inside the Sudan and what it regards as Sudan's non supportive attitude. Libya is re-

ported to have told the Minister of Energy, Adam Musa Madibo, during his recent visit to Tripoli, that it will no longer supply Sudan with petrol unless Sudan paid cash. No further Libyan credits will be extended to Sudan for fuel supplies. Libya is reported to have even reneged over an arrangement by which it was supposed to supply Sudan with petroleum products on accounts owed to Sudanese working in Libya whom Sudan is supposed to reimburse in local Sudanese currency. Libya is reported to have said that the arrangement between Libya and the Sudanese workers has nothing to do with the Sudan government and that Sudanese are free to transfer their savings from Libya according to ex-

not by a special arrangement.

Another of Sudan's recent suppliers of petrol, Saudi Arabia, is said to question the wisdom of an open support for the Sudan by supplying unpaid for fuel, when the house remains in disorder. Saudi Arabia wants to see discernable corrective economic and political order in Sudan which it can then support. Saudi Arabia is said to feel that the political situation in the Sudan is too fluid for it to go on supporting. Of special concern to Saudi Arabia is the continuing political confrontation between its political protegee in the Sudan, the National Islamic Front (NIF) and the government over political and constitutional matters, creating in the process, political instability and uncertainty. Saudi Arabia would like to see a more stable atmosphere in the Sudan in which the opposition and government are working closer and at least more normally than is at the

Observers note that the recent contacts between the government and the NIF which resulted in last Friday's meeting between the Prime Minister, Sadig El Mahdi and the leader of the National Islamic Front, Dr. Hassan El Turabi and their aides at the Prime Minister's residence in Omdurman, which was reported to have discussed the possibilities of a National government was aimed at easing the tension between the government and the opposition and at playcarting Saudi Arabia.

But until the question of the National government, since denied by official sources becomes a reality and Saudi Arabia or anyone else interested in bringing the government and the opposition together decides to ease Sudan's fuel problems, then fuel crisis is a very real possibility in the very near future. Sudan's other recent friend - Iran, has not expressed any keen interest to help, although contacts there too are continuing

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CSO: 4500/82

DAN SHOMRON, NEW CHIEF OF STAFF, PROFILED

Biographical Data

Tel Aviv BAMAHADE in Hebrew No 20, 4 Feb 87 p 13

[Article by Baruh Ron: "The Next Chief of Staff"]

[Text] Dan Shomron was born in 1937 in Kibbutz Ashdod Ya'aqov. In 1956 he was conscripted, and volunteered for the paratroopers. He participated in retaliation actions and in the Qadesh Campaign. After his term of service, he returned to the kibbutz, but 2 years later he reenlisted in the regular army, subsequently signing up again for 1 year at a time. In the 6-Day War Shomron was in command of a reconnaissance troop in Yisra'el Tal's division, and was the first to reach the northern Suez Canal on the 4th day of the war. After the war he was awarded a citation by the regional commanding officer.

In the war of attrition and during the period of terrorist hunts Dan Shomron commanded a battalion of paratroopers in Biq'at Hayarden and in the canal sector, and participated in raids. Subsequently, he was appointed to a senior position with the General Staff. In 1971 he transferred to the armored corps and was given a brigade command. In the Yom Kippur war he commanded a regular armored brigade, which crossed the Suez, surrounded the Third Army, and occupied the port of Adabia. Many of his men were wounded in those battles.

One year later, at the beginning of September 1974, Shomron returned to the infantry and was appointed chief commanding officer of the paratroopers and infantry. On July 4th 1976 he commanded the Entebbe mission, something that overnight brought him into the public limelight. At the end of August he was appointed commanding officer of an armored division in the Sinai. In February 1978 he was promoted to the rank of major general and was appointed commanding officer of the Southern Command. The most important event during his period as commanding officer of the Southern Command was the beginning of the Sinai evacuation. Shomron succeeded in ending the famous "Gan Hayereq incident" with the troops and settlers singing the national anthem together...

After a fairly short period of time Shomron went on a course of studies to the United States. He returned to Israel when the Lebanon war broke out, and was sent to the field. In September 1983 he established the Field Corps Command and was its first commanding officer, and about 1 and 1/2 years later, on 17

January 1985, he was appointed deputy chief of staff and head of the Operations Branch. At the beginning of October 1986 he relinquished that position in favor of Major General Amir Drori. Shomron is a graduate of the Intercorps Academy for Command and Staff Officers and has a B.A. title in geography from the Tel Aviv University. He is married for the second time and has a daughter from the first marriage.

BAMAHANE gathered various public pronouncements made by Maj Gen Dan Shomron, the next chief of staff, and published in the media.

On military technology: "Sometimes technology makes a breakthrough, and the combat doctrine is adapted accordingly. The IDF has a very great advantage in the area of technology." (09.30.86)

On the subject of Lebanon: "We will not allow our northern settlements to become hostages in the hands of extremist organizations. If there is no other way, we will have to remove them from there." (01.14.86)

On the IDF in the future: "We must make structural changes, giving preference to quality over troops. For that purpose, we must make cuts and reductions in many areas, namely those that are less important from the viewpoint of combat, while optimizing and emphasizing the preservation of the important elements. We can take such a risk because only the Syrians constitute an immediate enemy." (09.30.86)

Chief of Staff Selection Process

Tel Aviv BAMAHANE in Hebrew No 20, 4 Feb 87, p 13

[Article by Ya'ir Ben-David: "The Minister Recommends"]

[Text] The procedure of appointing a chief of staff is dictated, from a legal viewpoint, by the basic law of the army, which was adopted by the Knesset in 1976. That law, which is one of the shortest in our book of laws, and perhaps the shortest among all the basic laws passed by the Knesset (it has only six paragraphs), at the time replaced the IDF Order of 1948. Paragraph 3 (C) of that law succinctly states: "The head of the General Staff shall be appointed by the government in accordance with the recommendation of the defense minister."

The phrasing of the paragraph makes its intention clear: the defense minister merely makes a recommendation. Since, according to paragraph 2 (B) of the law, he "has charge of the army on behalf of the government," his duty is to put on the government's table the name of a candidate who is, in his view as defense minister, fit to serve as chief of the General Staff. The government, as a body, has the authority to endorse or reject the recommendation. In practice, as is the custom for government appointments, there is a ballot among the cabinet ministers, including the prime minister, whose vote is equal to the votes of each of the cabinet members.

History teaches that, as a rule, the government has been endorsing the defense minister's recommendation and appointed the candidate found by him to be suitable for the position of chief of the General Staff.

Both from the legal and practical viewpoints, there is nothing that says that the prime minister or other cabinet members cannot consult and arrive at a conclusion of their own concerning the defense minister's candidate, or other candidates, if there are such. Consequently, a meeting between the chief of staff and the prime minister, should it take place, is to be viewed as a consultation designed to permit the prime minister to come to a conclusion concerning the suitable candidate. There have been cases in the past when the candidates for the position of chief of staff, too, met personally with both the defense minister and the prime minister and voiced their opinion before the government adopted a decision on the appointment of the chief of staff.

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TREND TOWARD 'PALESTINIZATION' STRENGTHENING IN TERRITORIES

Tel Aviv BAMA'HANE in Hebrew No 20, 4 Feb 87, pp 19-21, 42

[Article by Hayim Raviv: "Altering the Nationality in Identity Cards"]

[Text] Shortly after the Jerusalem riots in which Arabs from the eastern part of the city were injured in reaction to the murder of Yeshiva student Eliyahu 'Amadi, demonstrations of protest and of identification with the population of the territories were staged in Nazareth and in villages in the Galilee. Similar demonstrations were organized in the wake of the closing down of the Bir Zayt University, with the active participation of representatives of the Arabs in the territories.

In November 1986 a convention of Palestinian poetry was held in Nazareth, the first of its kind, and was attended by Arab Palestinian scholars and poets not only from the Arab sector in Israel, but also from the territories, among them 'Abd al-Latif Bar'uti from the Bir Zayt University.

Israeli Arabs are undergoing a process of Palestinization, and a mutual adherence is developing between them and the PLO as an organization representing the national Palestinian identity, stated Elly Rehes of the Dayan Center in a study recently published on this subject. This, of course, is a generalization, and like any generalization, it requires clarification.

[Question] Does this come to the fore in contacts between Israeli Arabs and Arabs from the territories? How does it actually manifest itself in practice?

Eli Rehes: "From an institutional viewpoint, the link is almost not felt at all. No joint political bodies have been established between the population of the territories and the Israeli Arabs. Nonetheless, Palestinians from the territories participate in political and social events held among the Israeli Arabs, and Palestinian Arabs from Israel visit the territories. By the way, the fact that there are no joint organizations is not coincidental, because any such organization would end up becoming illegal."

[Question] Does the fact that no joint political bodies have developed prove perhaps that in fact, the Palestinization process is more of a fear than a reality?

[Rehes] "Only seemingly. I believe that such a process is in fact underway and manifests itself in occurrences of political solidarity and national affinity. Since 1967 the national solidarity between these two populations, which in fact are one population that was split in 1948, has been growing. As far as many Israeli Arabs are concerned, this is a return to the origins and a reunification after 17 years of separation."

[Question] What are the main political-national factors in the Arab sector that work toward Palestinization?

[Rehes] "The communists in the territories were and continue to be one of the central factors in the political arena of the local Arabs. They served as a link between RAKAH and the PLO leadership, and thus contributed to the inception of the Palestinization process. Another factor is the radical current, to which belong the Villagers, TELEK, and al-Najida. This faction sees the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians with all that it implies. Its members believe that the Palestinian problem must be solved by the establishment of a secular Palestinian state covering the entire area of the Mandate, i.e., in Israel's place."

[Question] And what about what is known as the "moderates," the circles active within the framework of Zionist parties or which belong to attached lists? Do you perceive new trends toward Palestinization among them?

[Rehes] "In my opinion, in this camp there has been a dramatic change. Figures like 'Abd al-Wahab Dar'usha, for example, express the new centrism of the Palestinian motif in the philosophy of the Israeli Arab and the predominance of this motif in his way of thinking.

"In order to demonstrate this dramatic change I will contrast that figure to a figure like Sayf al-Din al-Zu'abi as the prototype of the old member of the moderate camp. Al-Zu'abi never dealt with the Palestinian issue. He dealt with pragmatic subjects such as gathering votes and securing education, electricity, and water for the village. That is what he was interested in. In 1970, while serving as deputy spokesman of the Knesset, al-Zu'abi published an obituary on the death of Egyptian President al-Nasir, something that sent a shock wave through Israel. 'How could such an act of national treason happen?' All he did was to express his national feelings, but it was perceived as an act of treason. Less than 15 years later, Dar'usha took off for Cyprus with a view to going to Amman to open negotiations with the PLO leadership (through the agency of people from the territories). As it happened, he did not achieve his goal, but the very fact of the attempt shows an interesting development. In fact, an ideological consensus has been achieved among various currents of Arab public life in Israel. The ideological difference between Dar'usha and Muhammad Watid, Tawfiq Tubi, Tawfiq Ziyad, and Muhammad Mi'arri on the Palestinian issue is at the least becoming blurred.

"Although the strengthening Palestinian consciousness has not destroyed the Israeli element, in my view it has come to fill the place that used to be filled by the box [as in an identity card] that said 'Arab.' While in the past the combination was Israeli-Arab or Arab-Israeli, the order is now Israeli-Palestinian-Arab."

[Question] What are the social-national objectives of this Palestinization process that is affecting the Israeli Arabs?

[Rehes] "Whoever follows what is happening among the Israeli Arabs can observe a process of revival of the local Palestinian heritage. This development is part of a similar process occurring in the territories and amid the PLO. Within the framework of forging a Palestinian national personality, a very important place is assigned to the cultural-folkloristic area. This is achieved through the publication of books depicting the history of the Mandate period and cultivating local traditions and authentic poetry and literature. Dozens of publications on such subjects have been brought out in recent years by the PLO propaganda department.

"At the beginning of the 1980s an association was established in Nazareth under the name Rabitat al-Sawt (Association of the Voice), whose objectives are cultural-traditional, and which brings out, among other things, books of poetry. A periodical was founded in tandem with this organization. Once a year they organize a nation-wide congress to discuss points of original Palestinian thought and Palestinian folklore. Active in the Triangle area is a Palestinian heritage institute founded by Salah Barnasi, a nationalistic figure well-known in the Israeli Arab camp. In order to develop the local traditions, Israeli Arabs appeal to elements in the territories. Thus, for example, a considerable number of lecturers who attended the above congresses were academic scholars from the territories."

[Question] Has the PLO had an impact on this process?

[Rehes] "Once its prestige grew, the PLO began devoting greater attention to the Israeli Arabs. It began to 'discover' them in the 1970s. This happened to a large extent because of the emergence of an Arab-Israeli lobby within the PLO leadership. That lobby relied mainly on three people: Sabri Jiryas, an Israeli Arab belonging to the former 'al-Ard' organization and a lawyer by profession, who left the country in 1970 and is now a member of the PLO Executive Committee; Habib Qahwaji, another al-Ard man, a poet who was the intelligence operator of the Jewish-Arab terrorism and espionage ring; and Mahmud Darwish, a poet and member of RAKAH who fled from the country. Those three founded the Arab-Israeli lobby in the PLO and brought the issue of the Israeli Arabs to the attention of the organization. In 1971 they were accepted as members in the Palestinian National Council, and under their influence the council in 1972 adopted--for the first time in its history--a decision concerning the Israeli Arabs. That decision called for tightening the ties among the three circles: the Israeli Arabs, the territories, and the PLO. It clearly talks of strengthening the national struggle of the Israeli Arabs and their perception as an integral part of the Palestinian Arab people. The foundation was thus laid for a new concept, the antithesis of the old concept that governed the PLO prior to 1967 and that minimized the value of the Israeli Arabs and was even contemptuous of them. The PLO of those days viewed the Israeli Arabs as lackeys and collaborators. Now, all of a sudden, the PLO began to direct propaganda resources at the Israeli Arabs. The 'Land Day' that occurred shortly after the adoption of the three circles strategy, was, from their viewpoint, a real 'treasure trove'."

[Question] Within the process that you describe, do you also see the seeds of new political organization among the Israeli Arabs?

[Rehes] "The establishment of the Committee of Chairmen of Local Arab Councils is an excellent example of such organization. That body was established in 1974 to deal with municipal problems in the Arab sector, but it soon slid into political-national activities. The committee played a central role in the 'Land Day' in 1975. Its decisions in fact reflect the political line of RAKAH and the increasing solidarity between the Israeli Arabs and the Arabs in the territories. Thus, for example, when the murder at the Hebron Academy was perpetrated by members of the Jewish underground, the Arab councils went on strike in protest, and when the incident on Temple Mount occurred, the committee dispatched a delegation to express solidarity with Shaykh al-'Alami, the Mufti of Jerusalem.

"In the course of the years the committee grew in power, and the Palestinian issue became one of its cardinal interests, just as it is for Dar'usha, Mi'arri, and Tawfiq Tubi.

"It is difficult to foresee where this organization will lead. At least part of the Israeli Arab public views the committee as the parliament of the Israeli Arabs, in view of the fact that its members are perceived as public representatives."

[Question] Is the influence of the Arabs in the territories on the Israeli Arabs also felt in the religious-Islamic area?

[Rehes] "Yes. After the 6-Day War the Israeli Arabs were exposed to a very active religious institution in the shape of the Muslim Supreme Council, which played a political role in the territories, too. Also active in the territories was the al-Tahrir (Liberation) Party, a political party of extreme religious coloring, which had a network of preachers and religious teachers--muftis--and the entire hierarchy that makes up the Islamic religious system, something that did not exist among the Israeli Arabs.

"The fact that the holy shrines of Islam came under Israeli Jewish rule after 1967 created an outburst of religious feeling among the Arabs in territories and the Israeli Arabs, too. Witness the incidents at the Temple Mount and the Cave of Mahpelah. The issue began to penetrate deeper and deeper into people's consciousness. In parallel, Muslim preachers began to go on pilgrimage through the territories and across the Jordan bridges. They were active particularly in the Triangle area. Religious literature, which had been absent in the past, poured in from the territories, from Jordan, and from other Arab countries. Those constituted, among other things, the foundations on which a current of Islamic fundamentalism was revived among the Israeli Arabs. This current no doubt fed on the general Islamic revival that had been manifest in the area since the late 1970s. In practice, this materialized in violent underground activities carried out by an organization by the name of 'Usrat al-Jihad' (the Family of Holy War Fighters). This organization staged attacks on property mainly, such as arson and fires. In 1980 the organization was uncovered and dozens of its members were arrested and tried: some of them have been released in the meantime, and they form the nucleus of current activities."

[Question] How do they work at present?

[Rehes] "They have changed their tactics. Instead of coming into direct conflict with the authorities through secret militant activities, they have begun to weave their influence among the population itself, by developing educational elements and community activities--such as fund-raising drives for charity purposes--and working to acquire influence in schools; and they are indeed successful. Thus, for example, in some villages the parents' boards and the local authority have decided that girls should come to school in traditional Islamic garb. Another decision adopted under the influence of these fundamentalist elements has decreed a ban on alcohol consumption in the village."

[Question] What is the final goal of this movement, and what is its actual power?

[Rehes] "The goal is to build an Islamic state, but since they realize that this goal cannot be attained in the present conditions, they are trying to change the existing situation, apparently through peaceful means. The influence of this movement is continuously increasing; although we must not exaggerate its importance, it must also not be dismissed out of hand. A few years ago it was not taken seriously, but today we are witnessing a general process of return to religion, which must not be viewed as an entirely negative process, either."

[Question] Have the people in the territories contributed to this revival?

[Rehes] "Religious figures from the territories are active among the Israeli Arabs: they attend weddings and circumcision ceremonies, and on such occasions they gather groups of supporters around them and preach the Koran to them. Moreover, young Israeli Arabs study in Islamic academies in the territories. They constitute a small nucleus--currently just a few dozen--but their carry heavy weight in view of the fact that in Israel there is no religious training facility."

[Question] Are the strengthening ties between the Israeli Arabs and the Arabs of the territories good or bad for the Jews and for the State of Israel?

[Rehes] "It depends on the direction of development of the Israeli-Arab conflict. If the trend is toward settling the conflict with the participation of the PLO, then the negative outcome that it may produce is small. If the conflict exacerbates, then the general trends among the Israeli Arabs may become more radical."

In the Arab sector there is a trend toward new outlets of political expression. Various types of organizations have been formed or are forming in parallel to RAKAH, such as the "Villagers," the "National Progressive Movement" (TELEM), the "Nazareth Progressive List, the "National Committee of Chairmen of Local Councils," and religious groups influenced by the new currents in the Muslim world. The common denominator of all these groups is

the trend toward radicalization, which characterizes them, although to varying degrees of sharpness.

Muhammad Kiwan has been a political activist for some 25 years, one of the founders and militants of the Villagers, and a former member of the al-Ard movement. Kiwan, 45, is a native of Umm al-Fahm, formerly a teacher and now a lawyer. He speaks excellent Hebrew and knows how to use the right words in order to disguise his far-reaching objectives.

"The feeling of a Palestinian identity," Kiwan says, "existed before 1967, too, but it was internalized. Today it has outward expressions, particularly among the new generation. When we began presenting our position on the subject of Palestinian national identity we were an isolated group, but, much to my satisfaction, today we see people who in the past were reluctant to adopt such stands, coming closer to our position. Even people like Dar'usha, who are viewed as inseparable from the Israeli establishment, find themselves being swept away by the mood that is now prevailing among the Arabs, and are paying at least lip service to the Palestinian cause."

What emerges from Kiwan's statements on a solution to the Palestinian problem is the "stages theory," which accords with the concept of PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat. "I reject Zionism," he stresses, "which does not mean that I negate the right to existence of the Jews living here; but just as I recognize their right, so I demand from the other side to recognize the right to existence of the Arab Palestinian people and their right to self-determination and to establishing an independent state under the leadership of the PLO."

What are the territorial boundaries of the Palestinian state as he sees it? "The West Bank and Gaza Strip, but I will not try to throw sand in your eyes by claiming that that would solve the entire problem. This is an important step toward an overall solution. Even if a Palestinian state is established, I will not be exiled from Umm al-Fahm. I will stay, but I will be ideologically at odds with you over two issues: the basic civil rights of all the citizens of this country, and the national problem. In special historical conditions it will be possible to talk, in this respect, about the rights of the two nations, not in the Zionist sense of the word, but in the sense of the right of the people who live here to self determination. If such a day shall come I will be the first to struggle for your rights as a citizen and for your right to self-determination, but if the Jewish public in Israel does not agree that its interests lie in becoming integrated in the region, then it has the right to live by itself. It is my opinion that we would do well to adapt ourselves to each other."

Kiwan takes pains to once again emphasize that this is a long-term plan, and he points an accusing finger at the Arab countries: "They are fighting the Palestinians' right to have a country of their own no less than Israel, and they pose a threat to the Palestinians no less than Israel. In the present historical circumstances there is a veiled identity of interests between Israel and the regimes of those countries."

Kiwan lists all the "tragedies," according to him, that have afflicted the Arab sector under the Israeli rule. When I asked him whether he sees any

positive elements at all, Kiwan remembered the left-wing forces. "We appreciate them," he said, "and view them as forces of progress." In the same breath he mentioned Professor Yehoshafat Harkabi, as an example of "intellectual Jews who have finally come to the conclusion that there is no alternative and that the reality must be accepted..."

Samir Darwish, chairman of the council of Baqa al-Gharbiyah, belongs to the moderate camp among the Israeli Arabs; he believes in coexistence between Jews and Arabs in the country, but, according to him, the faith of many of his friends in this coexistence has begun to waver in view of the serious recent events, particularly in Jerusalem. Samir, who speaks fluent Hebrew, describes himself as a good citizen of the State of Israel and as an Arab proud of his Arab Palestinian nationality. According to him, this duality causes him a sort of split personality and makes his life difficult.

"If you are an extremist," he says, "you have no problem. You have no doubts. You just hope for the destruction of the state. Not so in the case of people like me, who belong to the pragmatic camp and who see themselves, in every situation, as part of the State of Israel."

Samir Darwish, 43, has an M.A. in political sciences and Middle East studies, and has been serving in his present position for 3 years. For 21 years prior to that he was in journalism. He began as a correspondent for AL-YAWM, then worked for the television. Already at the beginning of the discussion with him one feels his need to pour out his heart. Pretty soon the discussion becomes a monologue, and a rather emotional one, at that.

"What is it that the Israeli Arabs, who have tied their fate to that of the state, and who make up the overwhelming majority of the country's Arabs, seek today? They seek to belong to something. There is no one to nurture their feeling of belonging, and I am saying this as one who is very close to this topic. I want to participate in deciding the country's way of life and in shaping the quality of life. Why is there no Arab minister in the Israeli government? I am against advisers. I do not see them as an obstacle, but I would prefer to be represented by an Arab minister. I would prefer to come to the ministry and meet with an Arab director general or deputy director general who was elected for his qualifications. Educated Arabs currently suffer from a complex caused by the fact that they cannot reach senior positions in the establishment.

"We know that this is the state of the Jews, and that it was established as a refuge to all the Jews of the world, but I am not prepared to let that happen at my expense. We were born here, we have land here, rights, and roots, and we want to preserve all that.

"The state belongs not only to you, but to me, too. My rights in this country are not inferior to the rights of Rabbi Kahana, who came from the United States with much to hide in his past. I want to feel as part of the family; I do not mind being a minor member, but I do not want to be a stepchild, a bastard, or a temporary son living out of a suitcase. That I am a junior partner in the country is clear to me, but even as such I should be entitled to have a say in deciding my fate. Then I could struggle to make life here much better, for myself and for my senior partner.

"I will give you an example to clarify, perhaps, what I am trying to say. At a dinner given for the British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher at the Knesset during her recent visit to Israel, and which I had the honor of attending, I was seated next to Uzi Bar'am, secretary general of the Labor Party. That was immediately after the championship game between Hapo'el and Maccabee Haifa. He asked me why the Israeli Arabs were so keen on Maccabee Haifa winning, when Hapo'el Tel Aviv should be closer to their heart. The answer is Armali, the Arab player on the Maccabee Haifa team. The Arabs feel that they are represented in this team, and so, naturally, they identify with the body in which they are represented.

"Ezer Weizman's greatness was that he paid attention to the feelings of the Arabs, and not just to the practical aspects of their life. He evinced interest and participated in their happy events and sad events. He created an atmosphere of trust and faith among the Israeli Arabs. His practical achievements in the past 2 years are not particularly significant, but he concerned himself with something much more important: feelings...

"For 39 years, to this day, the government has not seen fit to devote even one meeting to the subject of the Israeli Arabs--39 years! If the government does not take steps to nurture a feeling of belonging through real policy changes; if it does not get to the heart of the problem with a view to solving it, instead of just talking; if the radicalization trend continues in the Arab sector and if there is no guiding hand to pull the rug from under the extremists on both sides--then I think that developments will take a dangerous turn and the situation will become very bad. Immune people like myself may one day come to the conclusion that they are nothing but Don Quixotes...

"The riots against the Arabs in Jerusalem--the display window for Jewish-Arab coexistence, which has been nursed along with great wisdom and foresight--have shattered the faith of many moderate Arabs in Israeli-Arab coexistence. It was the straw that broke the camel's back. The riots had been preceded by a long string of cases of verbal violence on the part of various Israeli figures.

"In spite of everything, one cannot say that the situation of the Israeli Arabs is all negative. There are lights among the shadows. The Israeli Arabs and the state can be proud of what has been done for them. The more educated we became and the higher our level rose, the more conscious we became of our needs and of the need for improvement. As public figures in the Arab sector, we channeled our struggle toward the problems of daily life, and toward the issues of equal rights and of improving our feelings as citizens of this state. Once again, I am only talking about the moderate, predominant section of the population, which does not belong to the camp that wants the PLO as our leader."

[box on page 42]

The Islamic Movement--A Forecast

Umm al-Fahm is today one of the major centers of activity of the Islamic movement, led by Shaykh Abdallah from the village of Qasim. The movement has

branches in Arab villages in the Galilee, too. A few weeks ago was founded here an association led by Dr Sulayman, which indeed deals with humanitarian affairs, but is also energetically working to spread Islam. Thus, for example, the organization has opened stores selling Islamic literature and cassettes imported from Egypt. Among its social-educational enterprises is the establishment of a Muslim soccer league, which is made up of 16 teams and is independent of and outside the soccer association.

In an interview given for Israeli television, Attorney Masrawi expressed his view that the future of the Islamic movement depends on the path that its members chose to follow; the more fanatic their actions, the more opposition it can expect from the Arab-Muslim sector, but if they act peacefully and constructively, then the movement will become accepted. But this is only one side of the coin. The other side concerns the attitude of the government toward the Israeli Arabs. The more governmental sensitivity and readiness to help them is shown, the fainter the chances of the Islamic movement will grow, but if the difficulties of the Israeli Arabs increase so will the chances of the movement, in view of the fact that in a way, the movement serves as a surrogate for an establishment that is failing in its duties.

[box on page 42]

The Murder and Its Background

Baq'a al-Gharbiyah is known as a quiet small town, but even it has been undergoing a process of radicalization in recent years. Samir Darwish is trying to sound the alarm. He tells me the story of the four local young men implicated in the murder of the soldier Moshe Tamam. "Three of them were orphans who applied to enter the university and were rejected; two of them lived in Tel Aviv and were chased away by their Jewish neighbors. I am not trying to find excuses or to justify, God forbid, the crime, but we must understand the background in order to attempt to neutralize the possibility of similar cases in the future."

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MYSTIC CULTS IN ISRAEL DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 219, 11 Feb 87 pp 13-19

[Editorial article: "The Secrets of the Emin Sect"]

[Text] The report of the commission investigating mystic cults in Israel, whose conclusions were published this week in abridged form, has over 500 pages. Since the Agranat report the government has not received a more riveting study report. The report has not yet been circulated. Avi Katzman is one of the few people who have read it yet in its entirety. The report filed by the commission of MK Miriam Glazer-Taasa is more serious and more frightening than it could have been expected. It contains terrible information; some of the information that was uncovered between the pages of the Emin sect has so far never been published, in any country. We bring you passages from it.

Introduction

The Emin Association in Israel is a branch of the International Emin Organization, which was founded in 1971 and has its center in England. The founder was Raymond Shartenlieve, known as Raymond John Armin and called Leo by his followers. Born in 1924, Shartenlieve was a salesman for Encyclopedia Britannica, declared bankruptcy in 1965, then worked as a driver.

Emin was brought to Israel in 1977 by Israelis who had lived in England and had fallen for Leo's teachings. Rafi Ayal and Erez Grinbaum were its founders in Israel and serve as its main local "ushers" (instructors, leaders). Other key figures on the Israeli arena are Avi'ezer Goz, the current spokesman; Ehud Ben-Dror, former spokesman, and Moshe Bar, chairman of the association.

Emin Israel denies that it is an inseparable part of the international organization and subordinated to the leadership in England. Its advertisements state that the Israeli association has "no organizational, ideological, or financial ties of any kind with other sects or associations. The association is not governed by the Emin Association in England and none of the activities carried out there should be linked to the association in Israel;" Emin spokesman in England, Nigel Ray, tells a somewhat different story: "We have a very active base in Israel."

The association's headquarters in Israel (the "Center") is in Ramat Hasharon, in a renovated movie house located in the Morasha neighborhood; however, Emin's current activities are carried out throughout the country. Groups of novices and more advanced members are active in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, Zefat, and many other places. Hundreds of candidates join the new groups that open up each year. Mr. Goz, the spokesman, pointed out to representatives of the commission that in addition to a nucleus of 650 permanent members, another 1,200 people belong to the various groups at any given time. It is not known how many of the latter become permanent members and how many quit. Considering the nature of the involvement, as it will be described here, it is reasonable to assume that the Israeli association is continuously expanding.

As an object of study, Emin stands out among the new groups and organizations active in Israel; despite the visibility of its activities in Israel, and despite the fact that it is an important branch of the international organization, there was not enough information on hand to shed light on Emin's objectives, nature, and modus operandi. It emerged that not only in Israel, but abroad, too, the organization has managed to preserve a high level of secrecy, while at the same time staging extensive and efficient public relations campaigns.

Both in their testimony to the commission plenum and on the special study day on which the association hosted commission members, Emin people reiterated the contents of their leaflets, avoided giving clear and direct answers to questions, and totally denied that there may be any truth in the complaints and claims of family members, case handlers, and/or newspapers. They repeatedly argued that the information published in the press and that has reached the commission is based solely on rumors and on the superficial impressions of people who dropped from Emin.

Above all, they strove to emphasize that in point of fact, there is no external source whatever that is capable or worthy of judging Emin, because: a) The association has a huge volume of articles, books, and studies written by the Emin founder, and in-depth and independent knowledge of them is too difficult a task, actually impossible; b) Only persons who have experienced Emin for an extended period of time can know what it is and has a right to voice an opinion. In view of that, Emin representatives asked the commission to decree that they are not a "sect," and that their activities "do not conflict with or harm social interests, but contribute to them."

The following data emerged against the background of those claims:

-- No external factor could have challenged Leo's teachings because his writings have not been publicized and the organization members are very careful not to let them fall into strange hands. Emin representatives gave the commission only one book, and evaded the question when asked about others.

-- The picture painted by the few articles and writings that did come out and by other testimonies by family members and former friends arouses doubts and questions.

-- Israeli specialists who came upon the phenomenon in the course of their work (for example, members of the Child and Family Care Center attached to the Kibbutz Seminar) expressed concern and believed that the matter should be studied. .pa

-- Two appeals filed with the Supreme Court by the organization in England against the newspaper THE PRIVATE EYE which had published a series of articles about Emin, were rejected.

In view of this situation an effort was made to procure the writings of Mr Armin and to gather as many testimonies as possible by Emin members, former members, family members, and other close persons. The information that follows constitutes only a first attempt to penetrate this complex phenomenon, and is mostly based on what is said in the writings (which were thoroughly studied), documents of the organization, and testimonies by Israelis.

From Leo's Statements

"God is a total machine (...) we, humans, are a living thing and want to turn into a successful machine."

"You must abandon your truth and adopt my ways and my ideas."

"The fact of being close to others who do the same thing, gives you identity."

"You must renounce your 'I want, and I do not want;' must give yourself over unconditionally."

"To temporarily accept total slavery."

"Doubt is dangerous; toying with your decisions is a luxury."

"They say: 'Everyone has a right to live;' No! Not everyone! Not according to my book. This is a contagious poison that is passed from one person to the next. This is a conspiracy that everybody uses for their own purposes."

"The 'enlightened' will have life and death powers on any other individual..."

Secrecy and Disguise

Those statements and many others from the school of Shartenlieve-Armin are not only not known to the public at large, potential joiners, and the families of organization members; they are not known even by Emin members themselves in the first stages of their involvement. At more advanced stages, after being exposed to the influence of the practices and techniques of the association, they may believe everything that comes out of Leo's mouth indiscriminately. "The most terrible thing about Emin is that it robs people of their doubts," said the father of one member. "Through very sophisticated means they manage to eradicate doubt about a whole range of things. My son was taught to doubt everything and to check for himself. And now he has no doubts about the most important things in life, so that he may be dragged into--I do not even dare to imagine into what. If he became religious it would bother me, too, but this bothers me much more because it is an unknown. I do not have the means, I do

not have any information, and whenever I want to ask questions they refuse to let me in because I am asking questions..."

The study of the writings and testimonials reveals a heavy induction into secrecy and into disguising information outwardly and inwardly: "Under no circumstance will you mention what is written here to any person outside Emin," Leo commands. "People will not understand you, they are not capable of understanding. There is a huge gap between your level and their level." "Do not scatter your pearls before swine, lest they turn on you and rip you apart;" "If you scatter your pearls before swine you will turn into an evangelist intent on his own destruction."

In his own interpretation of the signs of the zodiac, Leo sketched the traits of the ideal Emin members. This material shows, among other things, that: they create around them an aura of impenetrable secrecy; do not like to reveal themselves; are careful and alert to the slightest sign of invasion from outside; they tend to hide what they have become as a treasure, thus preventing any loss of its value; they are highly loyal, but if betrayed they can turn into dangerous enemies; they may reveal a tendency to threats and will rather take action than remain passive. In a manuscript of the association, which contains "studies" and works by members, in the passage dealing with "Numbers in Ancient Civilizations," we found the following: In the secret societies of Pythagoras mathematical discoveries were kept secret and were transmitted, from mouth to ear, under oath of loyalty to the society. They drowned in the tub one of their members for having revealed, for nothing, a few of their secrets. "This is not very rational, but I will feel awful if I talk," said former Emin members who were asked to testify before the commission. "Emin does not like to be talked about."

Strangers are not admitted to Emin meetings and current activities, and a special permit is required to attend meetings open to guests. "On the day of the meeting an Emin member went to each one of the persons invited and gave them an identification slip. My mother tried to go in, but she was not allowed because she did not have an invitation," said a girl. Journalists, investigators, and other strangers are barred from attending even this type of event. Deep secrecy surrounds the offices of the Center in Ramat Hasharon, too.

Joiners and even rank and file members are not permitted to study all of Leo's writings. "They make such a to do around it," said a former member. "You must pass several stages. Some books require a certain period of time--2-3 years--or a certain level of development." These statements are in keeping with Leo's specific injunctions: "Do not show the writings to someone within Emin who is at a level beneath you;" "Too much light, too soon, will only cause blindness."

For concealing information or meting out information in stages there is a brochure on systematically supplying disinformation and misleading information about ideological principles, working methods, length of involvement, the figure of the leader and the nature of his authority, and so forth.

The absence of a logical foundation, the inconsistency, the abounding contradictions and paradoxes, the exaggerated use of a new and vague terminology, and the profusion of information piled up may create a situation of increasing uncertainty, lack of confidence, and anxiety. And when to those means of pressure various types of threats and inducements are added, a person becomes vulnerable and open to persuasion; he is compeled to grasp for the anchors that are tossed to him and to accept the solutions suggested. As it will be further made clear, the flood of information is not reserved only for formal meetings and additional joint activities; Emin leads its members to use self-flooding techniques and to the almost compulsive creation of an uninterrupted overburdening. The capacity to stay alert, critical, and in cognitive control depends on the capability of connective focussing. The "teaching" environments of Emin bring about a condition of relaxation and lack of control and can lead to the disintegration of the cognitive and emotional system.

The study of "Dear Dragon" reveals that the book contains the main principles of Leo's teachings, interspersed with sayings-exhortations which do not differ in essence from the instructions used in hypnotic suggestion. The main difference between what happens in this respect in Emin and the use of hypnosis is that there the subject is not aware of the onset of the process, its conclusion, and the very fact that he is under a hypnotic influence:

"Touch yourself; you are dazed, trembling (...) point your finger and your eyes (...) your advance begins, your power is growing (...) you will feel a great peace, relaxation, and serenity and you will have the sensation that you cannot think (...) you must be quiet and open (...) before you there is something that you will say aloud, then, if you remain very quiet, the gate will open, and remember, no judgement (...) everything is certain (...) now your ability to connect with the other life is awakening (...) now you can perhaps even feel fine needles and pins pricking your hands and feet; stop for a moment, feel yourself. I tell you and inform you that you are in my highest regions (...) You are in the room where 'everything becomes possible' (...) the angels are here, and with them are lofty feelings (...) you are appearing at the origin of birth, death, love, harmony, and fulfillment of everything (...) you are one of the holy order of people who have been let in on the secret..."

Post-hypnotic response is reinforced/maintained by certain words and movements which are passed on to the "sharers of the secret" during the process. "I give you these special words, with the help of which you can connect into this experience;" "You see before you a collection of words; by bringing them to your mind you will always be able to get in touch with the gifts that have just been given you."

Emin Meetings

Emin's official functions, which are devoted to novices and candidates, are held in various places rented for the purpose: public halls (such as the Writers House in Tel Aviv, B'nai Brith Hall in Hod Hasharon), youth hostels (Bayt Va'Gan in Jerusalem), hotels (American Colony), and so forth. Recently, groups have been also working out of the new, permanent Emin quarters located

in a building that was leased and renovated on 3, Shalag St. in Tel Aviv. The meetings take place twice a week, in the evenings; they last 4-5 hours with a 20-minute break; the administrator and his aides sit at a table by the entrance and monitor the comings and goings, welcome "new ones" who can produce letters of referral, and accept the money that is presented to them in white envelopes (even first timers are warned at the table that "naked" money is not appropriate). The gathering waits in the entrance, outside the hall, until the necessary preparations are completed: physical and electric cleaning of the hall, "correct" arrangement of the chairs, decoration, and careful lighting and music. "Everything is arranged very beautifully, polished and shiny."

Once the preparations are completed, the participants go in, some 30 people not counting the "helpers," and sit on the chairs placed in a half circle or horseshoe. The trainees are requested not to cross their arms or legs during the meeting; "With your legs and arms crossed you are completely closed and cannot receive anything. At the beginning they merely asked us not to sit like that, without any explanation. 'You will see, you will understand.' Only later did they talk about electric opening and closing." The posture must be "erect and straight," preferably with the palms pointing up "in order to capture the energy." Wrist watches are taken off "because the circular motion of the watch is disruptive, it invites things outside your control" ("I never understood why they asked us to take off digital watches"). The activities and the discussion, both during the meeting and during the break, are in English, Leo's language; "I understood that English is a very special language, somehow not of human making, but descended from heaven; "There is a perception in Emin that the new revelation of the truth will come to the world in English."

Current meetings are not devoted to a particular topic; at each meeting the ushers touch upon a wide range of questions and points adjusted, apparently, to the specific "development" of a group and its needs. The trainees are flooded with information presented in a "very interesting and intriguing manner;" they pile up information on the "genuine" meaning of colors, numbers, shapes, and letters; they learn the "correct" interpretation of astrological signs and tarot cards; they acquire the wisdom of palmistry and a code of interpreting a person's appearance and movements (Emin sample: "People with curly hair are emotional; people with large nostrils are hot tempered--take, for example, the blacks"--from testimonials); they talk about "ancient Egypt" and are given hints about the special gifts that closeness to it may impart: telepathy, clairvoyance, astral trips, "development of the head" and the pituitary gland, healing, etc.

All that, of course, heavily sprinkled with "electrics and magnetics," "rare quality," "dynamics," and "creative powers," against the background of Leo's unique, miraculous figure: the 40 years of hard work that he invested in research designed to allow "you" this leap in space; or, alternately, how he "sat many years under a tree and nature revealed to him all its secrets." The statements are peppered with Leo's sayings and pronouncements, and with passages read out from his books, particularly from the suggestive "Deer Dragon," "Prawn-Strong," and "Gemrod."

Anyone who wants to ask a question has to put up his hand, stand up, and say in English: "Good evening, my name is such and such (his Emin name), and I wanted to ask..." This formula is repeated before each question throughout the meeting, even if the asker has already introduced himself for previous questions, and even if the time is 2 in the morning. The trainee has to remain standing until the usher has finished answering or for as long as the dialogue continues. "Many times the answers were of the type: your question is not intelligent, the question is not appropriate to the atmosphere, the question is out of place. Sometimes they diverted people's attention by speaking about some other interesting subject; they spun you round and round until you either gave up or forgot the question."

Emin functions do not always take place on the appointed days or time. From the very beginning there is a policy of "from one day to the next," which teaches the joiner to be "always on the ready" and trains him to the involvement required from the rank and file. .pa

One of the most popular topics at Emin in the extra sensory area is what is known there as "electric sight" (according to testimonials, people see all kinds of shapes in various colors--purple spheres, yellow triangles, blue stripes; they see silver and gold rain; they see electricity in various colors coming out from fingertips; they see "this and that and the other"--electricity and thunder coming out of ushers or advanced people; they see the full glory and colors of an aura and the dark cloud emanating from an angry person; they see stars in various shapes above people's heads; they see figures from other times and other places, "and once, when they were in Jerusalem, they chased a griffon or some such thing."

An explanation for the special gifts with which Emin members are blessed and for the phenomena they witness can be found in testimonials. The pressure of the ushers, group pressure, various exercises, exploitation of tiredness and general stress, and various types of suggestion, including hypnosis, constitute an almost certain guarantee for the success of guided phantasy. "The times when I almost saw were when I almost fell asleep at meetings. A few minutes before closing my eyes (...) The usher would say: Is it not true that you saw a yellow circle or this or that? And finally people did see anything that the usher told them they could see. Some people saw right away, and some took 2 days or at most 1 week (...) You need a certain concentration to see this."

The mother of a British architect, an Emin member who committed suicide while trying to break away from the organization and its influence, claimed in THE PRIVATE EYE of London that Emin deals in, among other things, black magic. A newspaper writer added that he found support for this claim in the testimonials of Emin members who said that they were "taught to kill their enemies with the power of thought." In an interview with another British newspaper Leo totally denied these accusations. Perusal of his writings provides reasonable grounds for assuming that he indeed attributes this power to himself (and to the ushers) and promises it to his followers as part of the "potential development."

The Event

The central technique in the process of conversion and of safeguarding the achievements attained is what can be described as existential meditation; Leo calls it the "full life," the "small life," or the "great small fullness." His statements on the subject and practical instructions show that this is in fact a method of self-emptying through parthenic fullness; the "full life" involves dividing all the functions of life into small fragments and continually focusing on the tiniest details of reality; the trainee inundates himself with information and creates an overload with the "do it yourself" method.

Leo urges those who are interested in "development" to immerse themselves into everything they do: "to be into it" all the time, and to return to the intensity and absoluteness of childhood. Every stimulus requires a reaction, but people do not do even the minimum in this respect, he says; everything around us shouts and shrieks to our consciousness at every waking moment, but we pay no attention; you must develop the sensation that you cannot see enough, that your eyes are not big enough; you must throw yourself into the enormous abundance of things; try to say aloud everything you think, images, people, colors, impressions; when you are shopping, be "into" shopping; if you stop, you may begin to worry and fear, and may fall into the trap; when you read a book, bring your brain to the consciousness, look for and concentrate on the letters N,S,E,W. "Each piece of information adds data to the brain, and the brain desperately needs it," states Leo.

The testimonials reflect the use of such techniques. A young girl who was hospitalized in the wake of her involvement with Emin, says: "I would walk through the city looking for numbers and trying to connect everything; I would walk in the streets and look at the numbers... I do not know, we were talking at the time about numbers and the fact that each number has a significance, and I wanted to understand something, I do not exactly remember. I would count; I would count trees, shops, I was counting... I do not know; to find some law, because nothing is accidental. At that time I would put a meaning into everything happening around me, and I tried to connect among things, because there is a reason for everything that happens, and nothing is independent, one thing is linked to the next..."

A young girl who spent several months with Emin says: "All of a sudden things come to your mind that never used to, and you are very pleased about it. Things concerning nature--why the sea is blue and why the waves move like that; or why the birds drop on Strauss Street of all streets, or on people's bodies and the blood system; all of a sudden you have the time to wonder and to think about things, all of a sudden you love yourself for it, and you see that you are more open to all sorts of things."

The London PRIVATE EYE reported about an Emin member who died after being found in the Victoria Park (by one of the caretakers) naked, suffering from heat exposure, and exhausted by talking for a long time to the trees (the newspaper claimed that Leo and Emin had adopted the ancient custom of talking to the trees. One of the Emin papers brought out in Israel carried the work "A Talk with a Tree," signed by Leo).

Along with all the far-reaching results that one can achieve through Emin meditation, Leo also issues a warning; the warning appears at the end of the

leaflet under the heading "Classified." It states that the methods suggested may have side effects: flawed functioning, hysteria, obsessiveness, mental disturbances, various types of cancer, death by suicide and death by speed. The reader is not told what conditions lead to what results. However, an Emin member knows that the success of his development and averting the dangers involved in it depend on absolute response to the instructions of Leo and the ushers...

Leo urges his followers to respond to a new order, to adopt new principles and standards, to change their way of thinking, perception, and emotional way of relating. In order to grasp the new order in all its aspects one does not need a "perfect mental makeup;" that not only does not help, but it apparently even hinders: "The brain is a complicated political monster that is not to be trusted."

"In the Emin dictatorship there is no democracy," proclaims a veteran female member who quit. "One day," she says, "I had over for dinner some Emin members and some other people. After that I was called in for a talk with Matthew; he explained that he had received a report saying that some of the people I meet with have a bad radiation and that it would be better for me to sever relations with them. At this point I could no longer keep quiet. They are old friends, they have more of a right with me than these other people; I became really angry, so they explained that they are doing this to me out of care, because they care for me, and because I am not capable of seeing. So I said, wait a minute, I am with Emin, too, right?"

The real meaning of the fulfillment and of Emin's vision of the future is revealed by Leo's statements about the Event--mankind's judgement day and the time of complete salvation for Emin members.

Leo warns his followers that they will often be subjected to "criticism and censure by people sunken into the holes of ordinary life." "They will censure you, will call you mad, will criticize you, will have a bad influence, and hundreds of other things." "There is no doubt," he predicts, "that there will be people who will want to arouse political or scientific hostility, not to mention spiritual or intellectual disputes because of all that." "But," he adds reassuringly, "know that those who mount witch hunts will in the end be exposed as witches themselves and will suffer from the fate that they so passionately predict for others."

It is easy to attack Emin, he argues, because the method is not yet perfect--"It is not offered as a perfect concept, but as a small glimpse behind the stage." This small glimpse takes up 12 million words, printed and taped, as stated by Emin spokesmen in England. Small wonder, then, that as an alternative claim in rejection of all criticism he decrees before his followers: "I today strongly defy any man to sum up what we are in three words. I firmly oppose it."

The Sects

Ten groups are covered in the report, which one reads with bated breath: Scientology, Emin, EST, Transcendental Meditation (TM), Bagwan Sri Ragnish,

Unity Church (Moonies), the International Society for the Awareness of Krishna (Hare Krishna), the Mission of Heavenly Light (Guru Maharishi Ji), the Finger of God (Rina Shani), and Ananda Marga. "The more letters of their you read," said the scientific coordinator of the commission, anthropologist Nurit Rimon, who wrote extensive passages of the report, "the clearer it becomes that what is presented as creativity and openness is precisely the opposite--closeness, robot-like response, and imitation. The sects speak in double talk: they bring people to believe that what they do is done in the name of our civilization, but they cause them to unconsciously break away from it."

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WATER COMMISSIONER TZEMAH YISHAY INTERVIEWED

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 220, 18 Feb 87 (Insert--"Water") pp 4,6

[Unattributed article: "The Danger Point of the Watershed"]

[Text] Water Commissioner Tzemah Yishay, a member of the moshav Pithia near Ramla, is himself a farmer. Since his appointment, his farm, which includes citrus groves and table grapes, has been managed by his two sons. The water commissioner is responsible for the national water administration. At first sight a certain conflict of interests could have been expected when the water commissioner turns on and off his own taps. Not at all, said the commissioner: "The situation in the agriculture is such that every one of us tries to preserve what there is. This year we cut back 200 million cubic meters, 160 million of them in the agricultural sector. The farmers themselves cut back another 50 million cubic meters. We are talking about all types of settlements."

[Question] Out of a sense of responsibility?

[Answer] "Only a small part of it is out of a sense of responsibility. The main reason has to do with the low price of cotton and the farmers' reluctance to get involved in growing crops dependent on export, for fear of complications in the future."

[Question] How do you define a balanced water management?

[Answer] "A balanced water management means using only the volume of water that is renewed each year, without thereby impairing the sources. When one draws too much water from one source it causes water salinization in that source. A source in which the water has come to a high level of salinization is a lost source."

[Question] Is it indeed true that last summer the water situation was critical? [Answer] "I do not like to use the word 'critical.' The situation was difficult, that is true! In the past 20 years we have been straining the water network and have used the entire volume of water at our disposal. At times we even committed the sin of excessive pumping. The past year was particularly hot, and it came after another 3 consecutive hot years. All that led to a serious situation. That is why we proceeded to cut backs, and the

network has withstood them on both sides, demand and supply. We checked the consumption at every point in the country on a monthly basis. In the agricultural sector, each farmer who exceeded the quota had his water cut off the very same month."

[Question] But you cannot turn off the water tap of city people.

[Answer] "That is true, but even in the cities we cut back supplies after warnings and threats. We also raised the price. We have a rule: we supply at a low cost the basic individual needs of the citizens plus municipal requirements such as parks and public buildings; but if the consumption is higher than that, then we levy additional payment for the excess water, which is four times higher than the normal price. In so doing we wanted to signal to the citizen: 'Use only what you need. For wasting you will have to pay a lot more.'"

[Question] What is the quota for individual consumption?

[Answer] "the per capita allotment is 50 cubic meters of water per year, plus another 20 cubic meters per capita for public institutions and municipal requirements. To that we add an approximately 10 percent reduction due to pipe bursts and leaks. Together that amounts to 77 cubic meters per capita per year. With regard to the reduction, we are pressuring city halls to ensure that the water pipes are in good order."

[Question] How much does the citizen pay for 1 cubic meter of water?

[Answer] "The citizen pays some 70 agora for 1 cubic meter of water. That is for the given quota, of course. The citizen pays this out to the city hall, and city hall pays 22 agora for 1 cubic meter. For the sake of comparison: a farmer gets 1 cubic meter of water for only 15 agora. Municipal water consumption is not subsidized by the state."

[Question] What is the reductions policy for the coming year?

[Answer] "This year we plan to cut back some 240 million cubic meters. Last year we cut back 200 million. For this purpose, we have divided the agricultural sector into three categories: the weak, from which we will cut 5 percent; the average, from which we will cut 10 percent, and the strong, from which we will cut 15 percent. For 20 million cubic meters of the planned reduction we used a similar division: 6 percent from the weak, 12 percent from the average, and 18 percent from the strong. It is true that the rich will still be rich and the poor poor, but this division ensures a smaller gap.

"With respect to the remaining 20 million the problem is more serious, because we intend to cut them from areas which are hydrologically critical. I am referring to areas which we cannot supply with water from the outside, and in which the water level in reservoirs does not permit additional pumping without immediately spoiling the sources. Such areas are Hadera, southern Sharon, and Ashdod. There the choice is between cutting down or damaging the sources. The situation is compounded by the fact that municipal consumption in those areas

is high, and the farmers grow only one crop. They will suffer direct damage and will be forced to pull up some of their plantations."

[Question] For how long a period are the reductions planned?

[Answer] "The policy of 240 million cubic meter cutbacks is intended for 5 years. It is true that we will also need help from above. But within the next 5 years we hope to halt the deterioration. Aside from cutbacks, we are taking other measures, too: we are planning and building a number of water plants. We will also try to renovate some reservoirs and to restore them to a balanced condition."

[Question] What water facilities are now being built?

[Answer] "The purpose of the facilities that are being established is to capture flood waters and to recycle waste waters from the big cities. The largest plant is SHAPDAN--Dan Region Effluent Water--also known as the 'third line to the Negev.' This is a purification plant, located in the sands of Rishon Leziyyon, which will capture all the effluent water of larger Tel Aviv, including Petah Tiqva and Rishon Leziyyon. The volume of water that will reach the plant is about 100 million cubic meters a year. The entire volume will be purified, strained, filtered into the ground, pumped again, and supplied to the Negev at a very high quality level, thus permitting any crop to be grown, without restrictions. The plant will alleviate the pressure borne by the overall network by at least 70-80 million cubic meters a year. Five years of work and about \$100 million have been invested in this plant, and we hope that it will be completed by next year."

[Question] Any similar plants in other places?

[Answer] "This year we completed the sewage system of Netanya. The effluent water from Netanya does not flow into the sea any longer and next summer will be used for irrigation in 'Emeq Hefer. We are talking about 6 million cubic meters of water. Work is underway just now on the sewage system of Hadera. Its effluent water are designed for irrigating the citrus groves and cotton fields of kibbutzim in the area. It is important to note that all that will release potable water, because in the absence of such plants farmers have to use potable water. The new arrangements are profitable for them, too: for each cubic meter of water that they release to us they receive 1.2 cubic meters."

It is almost with a sigh that Yishay says, "If only we had a budget to build more such water plants." He then expands on profitability and on the great potential for saving: "The overall country-wide municipal consumption is 450 million cubic meters a year. The industry uses another 100 million. About 1/3 of that goes back out as sewage. That means a potential of 350 million cubic meters. From places like Haifa, Ashdod, Beersheba, part of Jerusalem, and others we have already recycled some 75 million cubic meters into the system. As we said, soon we will have the 100 million cubic meters from the effluent waters of the Dan region cities. Consequently, there are still some 175-200 million cubic meters spilled out uselessly. An even greater volume flows into the Mediterranean, polluting rivers along the way. Another part penetrates into the ground and damages the underground water. If, instead of wasting into the sea or damaging water sources, we managed to incorporate it into the water network in place of potable water, then we could restore our reservoirs and ensure a balanced water situation."

ERSHAD ADDRESSES SPECIAL COUNCIL OF BAKSAL

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] The special council session of BAKSAL (Sardar Amjad-Zafar group) held on Sunday decided to dissolve the organisation and merge with Jatiya Party.

State Minister for Food and Chairman of BAKSAL, Sardar Amjad Hossain, read out the "declaration" of the council session in the presence of President Ershad who was the chief guest at the council session held at the premises of the old Sangshad Bhavan (now the President's Secretariat).

Welcoming the decision of BAKSAL council session, President Ershad, who is also the chief of Jatiya Party, exhorted all irrespective of their political belief to be imbued with the "politics of unity and development" and join his party to strengthen the on-going process of progress and prosperity.

He advised the BAKSAL leaders and workers not to be embarrassed by such propaganda that they joined Jatiya Party for lust of power. "Before you other political parties had also dissolved their organisations and joined my party", President Ershad told the BAKSAL councilors.

BAKSAL General Secretary Shah Mohammad Abu Zafar, MP, said that about 3000 councillors from all over the country attended the special council session. Local Government Minister Shah Moazzem Hossain, Information Minister Anwar Zahid were the two Cabinet Members present at the afternoon session where President Ershad formally received the "declaration" of the council session that dissolved BAKSAL and merged the organisation with Jatiya Party. However, Jatiya Party Secretary General Mahmudul Hasan was not present on the occasion.

Addressing the council session, President Ershad appreciated the

role of BAKSAL as a constitutional political party. He observed that the party demonstrated its love for democracy and sincere wish to withdraw Martial Law by participating in the Jatiya Sangshad elections on May 7 and voting in favour of the Seventh Amendment Bill in the House on November 10. He believed that the decision to merge BAKSAL with Jatiya Party would initiate a new chapter of "political unity for national interests".

Reiterating his call to introduce a new concept in politics President Ershad said that the programmes of his Government and party aimed at improving the lot of the people in 68,000 villages by turning the 460 upazilas into self-sufficient units. He said that he never believed in politics based on "slogans and lofty pledges at Baitul Mukarram and I have proved it to the nation by my untiring service during the last five years".

Call to restore spirit of Liberation War

Referring to his Government's policy to rehabilitate the freedom fighters and restore the spirit of the War of Liberation through TV and Radio, the President said, "freedom fighters are like my sons and we must rehabilitate them as the nation owe to them for the sacrifices they made in the Liberation War". He criticised that certain quarters were now shedding crocodile tears for the freedom fighters but they did not anything for the freedom fighters when they were in power.

Turning to the recent incidents on the university campus, President Ershad expressed his deep concern over the violence, indiscipline and anarchy in Dhaka University. He observed that not all students were involved in such incidents. He asked why there was no violence and anarchy in Jagannath University College where more than 20,000

students study, in Suhrawardy College, Titumir College and other colleges and educational institutions in the city excepting Dhaka University. He held one particular student organisation backed by a certain political party responsible for the violence and anarchy in Dhaka University. He observed that the student organisation and that political party had fast losing its credibility and public support and "so they were indulging in violence and anarchy for their survival".

The President urged the students not to be utilised by political parties for political purposes. He advised them to shun violence and indiscipline and devote themselves to studies and become the future leaders of the country. He also exhorted the teaching community to save the students from the path of violence and anarchy.

Earlier in his annual report, BAKSAL General Secretary Shah Mohammad Abu Zafar said that the party decided on March 21 last year to participate in Jatiya Sangsad elections and BAKSAL always believed in constitutional politics. He observed that political experience proved that the existence of a political party was at a stake if it stayed out of elections. He termed the Seventh Amendment as the "guiding force" of President Ershad and expressed his satisfaction over the "historic role" played by the BAKSAL MP's in passing the amendment in the House. He praised the Presi-

dent for rehabilitating the freedom fighters, restoring chain of command in the armed forces to turn it into a strong constructive social force and ensuring communal harmony in the country.

In the "declaration" of the special council session, Sardar Amjad Hossain said that BAKSAL was formed by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a "state concept" and with the killings on August 15, 1975 came the tragic end of that part of history". He said that Awami League and even Sheikh Hasina, the daughter of Bangabandhu rejected the BAKSAL concept to keep conformity with the expectations of the people in the post-1975 period.

Sardar Amjad Hossain said that the newly formed BAKSAL felt the need to participate in Parliament election with other democracy-loving political parties to restore democratic government ending Martial Law. He added that his party found under the leadership of President Ershad the country was leading towards the path of progress and prosperity and "we considered it our party obligation to extend our full support to President Ershad". Amidst cheers from his party councillors he announced the dissolution of BAKSAL and declared that from now on all the units and leaders and workers of BAKSAL would be guided by the constitution and manifesto of President Ershad's Jatiya Party.

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ERSHAD SENDS MESSAGE ON TAKEOVER ANNIVERSARY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 24 Mar 87 pp 1, 16

[Text] President Hussain Muhammad Ershad on Monday expressed his confidence that in the back drop of socio-economic and political scenario of the country, the five years of his government will remain as pointer of transition from inertness to dynamism, despondency to inspiration, decadence to rejuvenation and deterioration to development, reports BSS.

In a message on the occasion of completion of five years of this government, he said, we must keep in mind that we have no scope to suffer from complacency as we have to traverse a long path ahead towards progress.

In this context, the President set five objectives to materialise during the next five years. They are consolidation of the democratic constitutional system in institutional foundation, flourishing of the national economy through persuasion of politics of production, consolidation of the national unity on the basis of Bangladeshi nationalism, furtherance and strengthening of the process of reforms effected during the last five years and solidification of the success attained so far.

Observing that peace and political stability are pre-requisites for enabling the nation to attain these objectives, President Ershad expressed his confidence that each and every citizen of the country will make their contributions in attaining the objectives.

He said five years back from today, the responsibility of running the affairs of the state was made over to us. We responded to that call of the motherland because of our deep feelings for the people, he said.

The President said though the path before them was not strewn with flowers, yet unflinching support from people of all walks of life, sincerity, sacrifice and dutifulness on the part of patriotic armed forces and civil administration have enabled his government to attain great success in all fields of socio-economic life.

President Ershad said in order to make the hard earned independence meaningful to the vast majority of the population and to establish a society free from exploitation and deprivation, his government have effected far-reaching and epoch-making reforms, he said our tireless efforts were directed towards preserving independence, safeguarding sovereignty, establishing democratic and constitutional rule, ensuring economic growth and social justice, eradicating poverty and placing Bangladesh to a seat of dignity in the Community of Nations.

He said as part of government policy of decentralisation, new administrative institution of upazila has been created. The judiciary is now nearer to the people, he said adding a new speed has been generated in the development process.

The President said as a result of adoption and implementation of time honoured industrial policy, a favourable climate has been created for investment. At the same time, the private sector has been given priority and encouragement, he said.

President Ershad said his government have been working to ensure health and education for all by all year 2,000, besides, his government's drug policy has been lauded throughout the world he said adding

at the same time we have initiated the revolutionary land reforms.

He said for the first time in history the process of economic decadence has been halted.

The President said we are at the threshold of entering the 21st century and keeping that in view, special attention has been given to the development of communications and expansion of power supply. He said efforts to limit the population have been strengthened and have received international recognition.

He said the nation is blessed with huge reserve of natural gas and by the grace of Allah oil has been struck.

President Ershad said fulfilling our commitment to the nation, a government and a Parliament elected through proper, peaceful and impartial polls have been functioning. Democracy has been taken roots at the lowest tier and for the first time peoples representatives as

head of Upazila administration have been discharging their duties, he said.

He said in the international arena, Bangladesh today has been established in a prestigious position. In this context, he referred to Bangladesh presidency of the current session of United Nations Assembly; pioneering role played for establishment of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation of which the first Secretary General has been elected from Bangladesh.

The President also spoke of appropriate role being played by Bangladesh in various international organisations including OIC, Non-Aligned Movement, Group of 77 and Commonwealth.

He congratulated people from all walks of life, members of the armed forces and civil administration for the progress and successes attained during these years.

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MINISTERS REPORT BOOST IN DDP SINCE ERSHAD ACCESSION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 23 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed stated in Dhaka on Sunday that the resilience in industrial activities, created over the last five years of President Ershad's Government, had made higher contributions to the industries sector and the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), wider employment opportunities and resurgence in overall economic activities.

The Deputy Prime Minister was addressing a joint Press conference in the cabinet room of the Cabinet Division to highlight the development achievements of President Ershad's Government, entering its sixth year in office on March 24.

Finance Minister M. Syeduzzaman and Planning Minister A.K. Khondoker also addressed the Press conference. Information Minister Anwar Zahid was present on the occasion. Sunday's theme of the joint Ministerial Press conference was industrial growth, public finance and national economic and financial management and development planning.

Dilating on the developments on the industrial front, Deputy Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed noted that the privatisation moves and the liberal industrial policy-frame of the Government had yielded very encouraging results. He offered a detailed set of statistics on new industrial investments both in private and public sectors in terms of units and amounts sanctioned during the last half-a-decade since 1982. He stated that on an annual average basis, 1400 units and Taka 689 crore were sanctioned as new private sector investments during 1982-86 compared to 712 units and Taka 221 crore during 1972-82.

67 joint ventures

Mr. Moudud Ahmed said that 67 joint venture projects were given sanctions during 1982-86 compared to 37 such projects during 1972-82. About the public sector industries, he stated that total profits earned by three sector corporations (Bangladesh Chemical Industries Corporation, Bangladesh Sugar and Food Industries Corporation and Bangladesh Steel and Engineering Corporation) under the Ministry of Industries amounted to Taka 124.57 crore during 1982-86 as against Taka 155.80 crore during the ten-year period from 1972 to 1982. Investments made through the three sector corporations under the Ministry totalled Taka 554 crore during the last half-a-decade, he added.

The Deputy Prime Minister noted that positive efforts were being made through new investment companies, fiscal restructuring and liberalisation of investment-sanctioning procedures to give a new boost to the industrial growth process. The development of small and cottage industries constitutes the focal element of the industrial policy, announced in July, '86, he added.

In his lengthy statistical elaboration relating to developments in food production, exports, foreign exchange reserves, remittances, fertilizer production and distribution, foreign aid disbursements and government revenues, Finance Minister M. Syeduzzaman claimed that the overall economic performance of Bangladesh during the last half-a-decade was "reasonably satisfactory." The statistical indices as were provided to newsmen by Mr. M.

Syeduzzaman showed progress in all broad sectors, having bearing on macro-economic management.

The Finance Minister noted that the rates of economic growth or increases in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) stood at 3.0 per cent, 4.2 per cent, 4.1 per cent and four per cent in 1982-83, 1983-84, 1984-85, and 1985-86 respectively compared to 0.9 per cent in 1981-82. The GDP growth rate in 1986-87, he estimated, will be around 4.4 per cent. Such a growth performance for the national economy during the most turbulent period of the global economy since the beginning of the current decade reflected a relatively better picture for Bangladesh, he claimed. He pointed out that the overall growth rate of the global economy was 2.9 per cent and that of the developing economies at an average level of 3.6 per cent during the first half of the eighties, he added.

Retarding trend in inflation

Finance Minister Syeduzzaman stated that the inflationary rate

showed a retarding trend since 1982-83. The inflationary rate stood at 17 per cent in 1981-82 and the same was below the double digit figure for most of the last half-a-decade, he added. He estimated that the inflationary rate during the current fiscal year would be around 12 per cent.

He gave a detailed account of fiscal and other reforms carried out by the Government over the last five years to induce more savings and investments in the economy.

Planning Minister A.K. Khondoker explained the perspective of the Third Year Plan (1985-90) at the Press conference. He noted that poverty alleviation, employment generation and human resources development constituted the prime elements of the development strategy under the plan. The higher allocations for investments in both public and private sectors under the plan over the previous ones as much as new sense of direction for project implementation and rural development including uplift of upazilas reflected the priorities of the Government, he added.

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CSO: 4600/1559

ERSHAD ADDRESSES MEETING OF JATIYA LEADERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] President H.M. Ershad on Tuesday ruled out the possibility of a mid-term election and asserted that democracy can be sustained only through Parliament running a full term and transfer of power taking place by ballot.

Addressing a discussion meeting arranged by Jatiya Party at its office to celebrate his half a decade in office President Ershad said he would ensure a political trend in the country where the Parliament can function effectively its full term. He asked Jatiya Party workers to organise the party and reach the fruits of the present Government's pro-people programmes to every village so that Jatiya Party could again get the mandate of the people in the Parliament elections after five years.

The President called upon all to stop criticising the past and advised his party's leaders and workers to win the confidence of the people through dedicated work. He said it would bring no good to the country by saying loudly that thousands of people died of starvation in 1974 because people know the history. "We want to say none died during our rule," he told party workers. He also referred to the huge wastage of Government money in the name of canal digging during 79-82. "We do not want to blame any one for that but we want to make it clear that people need more roads, hospitals and schools for their development," he observed.

President Ershad who is also the Chairman of Jatiya Party reminded the workers that "Awami League had their politics for long time and BNP functioned in a political vacuum and Jatiya Party must make its lasting impact on politics."

Expressing his gratitude to Almighty Allah for allowing him to serve the country for five years President Ershad said that many thought we would be eliminated in a short period but with the God's blessings we survived. He admitted that his Government might have committed certain initial mistakes. "We shall try to rectify those," he assured.

Referring to the upazila system the President said that it has been a successful step of his Government that has brought revolutionary changes in the country's development.

President Ershad warned party leaders and workers not to be self complacent. He said that the public opinion was today in favour of his party and "we must keep it up," he told his party men.

Thanking his party leaders and workers for the love and respect they have demonstrated for him President Ershad said "today is a red letter day of our party and we must redeem our pledge to the nation."

Prime Minister Mr. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury and Jatiya Party Secretary General Mr. Mahmudul Hasan also addressed the discussion meeting. Cabinet Ministers, Jatiya Party MPs and party leaders and workers attended the meeting.

Earlier on his arrival at the party central office President Ershad was profusely garlanded by party leaders and workers.

National unity

An earlier BSS report says:— President Hussain Muhammad Ershad on Tuesday called for a broad-based national unity for achieving five objectives, enunciated by his Government for the next five years.

He listed these objectives as consolidation of democracy in institutional structure, flourishing of national economy by pursuing politics of production and development, consolidation of national unity on the basis of Bangladeshi nationalism, furtherance and strengthening of the process of reforms effected during last five years and consolidation of the gains and successes attained so far.

President Ershad was speaking to a huge gathering of leaders and workers of the Jatiya Party and its front organisation who came to President's Secretariat to felicitate him on the successful completion of five years of his Government.

Listing the successes attained during the last five years, the President told the Jatiya Party workers and people in general to take a pledge to fulfil all objectives set for the next five years as they had supported the Government in realising the pledges made to them earlier.

The meeting was also addressed by the Minister and Secretary General of the Jatiya Party.

Mahmudul Hasan and Administrator, Dhaka Municipal Corporation M.A. Malek, M.P.

Prime Minister Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury, Deputy Prime Ministers, Ministers and Members of Parliament were present.

Earlier, thousands of Jatiya Party workers in small processions from different parts of the city and suburbs carrying festoons and big sized photograph of President Ershad assembled at the courtyard of President's Secretariat.

Black day

Referring to a section of political parties which describe the day as a black day, President Ershad said in reality it is a black day for them as they have been rejected by people for the wrongs they had done during their rule in the past. People's memory is still fresh about their misdeeds and bluffing, he observed.

Speaking on the occasion, Jatiya Party Secretary General Mahmudul Hasan said the development oriented politics of President Ershad has given a new assurance to people for a bright future, ending the era of neglect and deprivation.

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ERSHAD ADDRESSES ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY SEMINAR

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] GAZIPUR, Mar. 15:— President Hussain Muhammad Ershad said here today that Islam which is the religion of peace, welfare and emancipation of mankind had also put utmost importance on education, reports BSS.

The President was inaugurating the three-day seminar on the role of Islamic University in the system of education in Bangladesh at the Islamic University campus premises.

Jointly sponsored by Islamic University and Asia Foundation, the inaugural session of the seminar was also addressed by Religious Affairs Minister Maulana Abdul Mannan and the Vice Chancellor of the University Dr. A.N.M. Mumtazuddin Chowdhury.

President Ershad said the first residential university of the world was the Masjid-i-Nababi which had produced the best commanders, the best head of states, the best judges, the best diplomats and the best religionists of the history.

He said our Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (SM) used to introduce himself as a teacher and after establishing first Islamic state in Madina and subsequent expansion of its rule in other parts of the world, the Muslim rulers had patronised knowledge and science.

The President said the Nizamia and Mustaria University in Baghdad, Al-Azhar University in Cairo and Cordova University in Spain are the glorious contributions of the Muslims. When Europe was in darkness of ignorance, the Islamic World was the centre of learning and civilisation, he said adding, European renaissance is the contribution of the Muslims.

He said Bangladesh also became one of the main centre of Islamic education in the region. Islamic civilisation and culture became very rich centering the historic Sonargaon when Muslim rulers built thousands of maqtabs and madrasas for spreading the light of education and knowledge in this land, he said.

The President regretted that contrary to the past glorious tradition of the country today the educational arena has been turned into war field, the bombs have taken place of books, terrorism has become the syllabus and pens have become daggers. As a result the whole generation is being ruined, many valuable lives are being lost and parents are getting frustrated, he pointed out.

He made a clarion call to all irrespective of party affiliation and opinion to unitedly voice their indignation and build up strong resistance against chaotic conditions in educational arena to protect the future generations from total ruination.

President Ershad said the present Government has given priority to education sector and said if we fail to provide proper education to our students, the future of the nation is bleak. He urged all to keep the students out of politics and make them understand that they should devote their time and energy in building themselves as worthy citizens.

Referring to an interview of a teacher published in a local weekly, the President asked whether the teachers themselves have discharged their responsibilities to their students properly educating them.

He pointed out that there is no militancy among the students of all educational institutions other than one or two campuses where a handful of students who are acting as stooges of a political party are indulging in violence. He said the general students, who want to pursue their studies, do not subscribe to violence, rather they are against it and want to build their career in a peaceful academic atmosphere.

President Ershad urged the teachers to discharge their responsibilities of creating a congenial atmosphere on the campus thus devote themselves for building a worthy future generation which would be able to fulfil the hope pinned on them by the nation.

The President said Bangladesh being the second biggest Muslim country of the world, our efforts are always directed towards the establishment of Islamic values and ideals in the society. "We believe that the Islamic values of life can only emancipate the people from moral and social degeneration", he said adding, "we have been working relentlessly in that direction during the last five years."

In this context, he said foundation

stone of the Islamic University was laid during this period and it was inaugurated during the same period. Fridays were declared weekly holiday, National Idgah has been constructed in the capital, Baitul Mukarram Mosque was beautified, set up Zakat Fund and established family courts.

President Ershad said programme for providing training to two lakh Imams has been taken up in hand and Taka eight crore has been earmarked for this sector in the Third Five-Year Plan.

He said libraries will be set up with the mosques, while Taka forty crore will be spent for the Islamic organisation. A separate ministry on religious affairs was also set up, he said.

He hoped that Islamic University would be able to make significant contribution in restructuring the education system which will be able to fulfil our socio-economic, technological and moral requirements.

The inaugural session of the seminar was attended by Vice President A.K.M. Nurul Islam, Deputy Minister Moudud Ahmed, ministers, members of parliament, diplomats and high officials.

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ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION SUPPORTERS CLASH WITH POLICE

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 14 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Over 100 people, including six policemen were injured in clashes between supporters of the 'Islamic constitution movement' and police yesterday who barred them from holding a rally at Shapla square.

Organisers of the rally said that police did not allow them to hold the meeting at the Shapla square. Police also broke up their gathering in front of the Jatiya Press Club.

Police said the movement's organisers were trying to hold the rally in both the places in defiance of a ban on meetings and gatherings on roads.

According to Dhaka Medical College Hospital sources, three of the demonstrators were seriously injured; one of them was admitted with a splinter of a tear gas shell on his leg. At least 30 of them were given first aid. Others received treatment from clinics and doctors. Police said that the six policemen who were injured were being treated at the police hospital.

Clashes began after police fired tear gas and used batons to disperse supporters of the movement proceeding towards Shapla square at Motijheel after Juma prayer from Baitul Mukarram.

The demonstrators were intercepted at the corner of National Sports Control Board by Police who fired tear gas shells to scatter them. However, some of the demonstrators, including their leaders Maulana Abdur Rabim, Korban Ali and Fazlul Karim squatted on the road and refused to move.

As the demonstrators and police were engaged in pitched battles, the squatters came under baton charges, and five of them were hauled up. One person was delivered a blow by a police officer as he was

pleading for mercy for another. The blow left him unconscious and the prostrate man was dragged to a waiting police van.

Clashes spread in and outside the Baitul Mukarram mosque as police fired tear gas and hurled stones at the demonstrators who had taken shelter at the mosque.

Some time later the demonstrators gathered in front of the Jatiya Press Club and clashes renewed when Police swooped upon them as their leaders were addressing the gathering condemning police action.

Police used batons and tear gas here again with the demonstrators replying with stones at police.

At one stage some demonstrators scaled the fence of Press Club. Police also fired tear gas at them when they threw stones at the police. However, members of the Press Club restrained the demonstrators from attacking police from inside the Club.

During the clashes two crackers went off across the street near the Bangladesh Medical Association building. But no one was injured.

Tension mounted again as Police stopped a car and hauled out Maulana Azizul Huq and Maulana Abdul Jabbar, Pir Shaheb of Baitush Sharaf, Chittagong. Police also arrested Maulana Habibullah who was delivering a sermon from pir of Char Monai, Maulana Fazlul Karim, urging his supporters to go back to Baitul Mukarram. However, police let off the pir shahab of Baitul Sharaf as his disciples gathered around him.

Pir Shaheb of Char Monai Moulana Fazlul Karim, who managed to escape the police net, told newsmen earlier that they were prevented from holding

their rally at Shapla square and came under police charges. He also announced that they will stage demonstrations on March 19 in protest against the police action. They will also form committees of the Islamic Constitution Movement by April 30 and observe 'resistance week' against corruption, repression and anti-Islamic activities at the last week of Islamic month of Shaban to maintain sanctity of the Holy Ramzan. On 27th day of Ramzan the organisation will hold prayers aiming at implementation of the Islamic Constitution. On June 12 they will observe Islamic Constitution Day, Maulana Fazlul Karim said.

Meanwhile, Police in a press release claimed that they have "confiscated 200 sticks from the demonstrators and instituted two cases against the organisers of the demonstrators, who it said violated restrictions on "holding of public meetings and gatherings on the roads". Six police men were also injured seriously who were under treatment at police hospital.

It said that the "organisers of the proposed rally at Shapla square were formally asked not to hold the rally and informed

about the ban. After the Juma prayers nearly 4,000 people tried to march towards the Shapla square from the Baitul Mukarram. At the Dainik Bangla crossing police informed the organisers about the ban on gatherings on the road and requested them to go away. But the demonstrators ignored the police and tried to move ahead and police warned them repeatedly. But they started throwing stones at police and attacked them with lathis, rods and other weapons and tried to damage the vehicles moving on the streets. Three policemen were seriously injured during attacks by demonstrators. Police at this stage was forced to fire teargas in self-defence and to protect public and private property and arrested three people. The demonstrators were dispersed. But two to three thousand people tried to hold rally in front of the Jatiya Press Club closing the road illegally. Police urged them to leave the place but they ignored police and attacked them again with brick bats injuring three policemen. Police in self-defence again forced teargas and made a mild lathi charge and arrested 14 people and brought the situation under control.

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REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

9 Mar Talks

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 10 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] France will give Bangladesh 14,000 tonnes of foodgrains as grants during the current fiscal year, reports BSS.

The French offer came during the official level talks between the two countries lasting for three hours at the Foreign Office in the city yesterday.

Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury led the Bangladesh side while the French delegation was headed by visiting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Mr. Didier Bariani.

Official sources said that bilateral and international issues came up for discussions and the talks were fruitful.

The visit of Mr. Bariani is the first ministerial level from France to Bangladesh since the independence of this country.

The sources said that among the international issues, the situation in Kampuchea, the Afghan tangle, the Gulf conflict, recent OIC summit and the SAARC figured prominently in the talks. In the bilateral plane, political, economic, scientific and cultural matters were discussed.

The Bangladesh Foreign

Minister welcomed the visit of the French Minister and expressed the hope that the visit would lead to furtherance of existing friendly ties between the two sides. He briefed Mr. Bariani about the political developments in Bangladesh like transition to democracy, decentralisation of the administration like the upazila system.

The French minister lauded the efforts of Bangladesh government under President H.M. Ershad's leadership for progress and development.

The two sides found broad similarity in their views in the international subjects, they discussed.

The French minister complimented Bangladesh for the pioneering role in formation of SAARC and President Ershad as the first chairman of SAARC. He expressed the hope that SAARC would generate atmosphere of goodwill in the region.

Two countries will sign a cultural accord today while an agreement for avoidance of double taxation was signed yesterday.

Taxation Accord

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 10 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh and France here yesterday signed a convention for avoidance of double taxation between the two countries, reports BSS.

The visiting French State Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Didier Bariani, and the Finance

Minister, Mr. M. Syeduzzaman signed the convention on behalf of their respective countries at a simple function at the National Economic Council conference room at Sher-e-Bangla Nagar.

The convention is expected to help expand bilateral econo-

mic relationship between the two countries and result in more French investment in Bangladesh.

The signing ceremony over Mr. Syeduzzaman said the convention would provide new opportunities for expanding the economic cooperation between the two countries specially in the private sector.

He said Bangladesh would welcome French investment in the private sector. In this connection, the minister recalled the package of incentives provided by the government for attracting foreign investment.

Mr Syeduzzaman expressed the hope that efforts would be made to persuade French investors to invest in Bangladesh.

Mr Bariani said the convention would boost the existing bilateral economic ties between the two countries and provide protection to French investment in Bangladesh.

Chairman of the National Board of Revenue, Mr S.B. Chowdhury, and the French Ambassador Mr Stanislas Filiol, were present on the occasion.

Earlier, the French state minister called on Mr. Syeduzzaman at his Sher-e-Banglanagar office and exchanged views with him on matters of mutual interest.

An official source said, in course of the discussion between the two ministers the entire gamut of bilateral economic ties including the utilisation of French assistance came up for review.

Bariana Press Conference

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

French Foreign Minister Mr. Didier Bariani said that France was eager to help Bangladesh in overcoming her economic problems. He also assured continued French aid for economic development of Bangladesh.

Addressing a Press conference at the state guest house 'Padma' on Tuesday the French Foreign Minister said that France was keen to transfer its technology for overall development of Bangladesh. He disclosed that France provided Bangladesh over 400 million US dollar economic aid, besides, the food aid and technical assistance, since the liberation of the country. He expressed his satisfaction over the proper utilisation of the international aid in Bangladesh.

Talking to newsmen prior to his departure, the French Foreign Minister hoped that his three-day visit to Bangladesh, first of its kind by any French Minister, would help in determining the frame of future Dhaka-Paris cooperation in the field of trade and commerce, science and technology, agriculture, education and industrial development. Referring to the fiscal convention signed between the two countries during his visit Mr. Bariani said that the agreement would ensure French investment in Bangladesh. He also hoped that another agreement he signed with the Education Minister in Bangladesh would ensure cooperation between the two countries in the field of education, language, science and technology.

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BANGLADESH

FOREIGN MINISTER ANSWERS QUESTIONS IN PARLIAMENT

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh has signed 133 agreements with the United States and sixteen with the Soviet Union. The agreements with the United States relate to economic assistance, export of readymade garments from Bangladesh, US investments in Bangladesh and their protection, evasion of tax, collaboration for peaceful use of atomic energy and training of Bangladesh Armed Services personnel in the USA.

Fifteen of the sixteen agreements with the Soviet Union, were signed between August 1972 and April 1975. The sixteenth agreement on training of Bangladesh students in the Soviet Union was signed in May 1981. These were disclosed by Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury in A written answer to question by Awami League member Rashed Mosharraf in the Jatiya Sangsad on Tuesday.

In reply to a question by Iqbal Hasan Mahmud the Foreign Minister said Bangladesh has diplomatic ties at ambassadorial level with 46 nations. At present Bangladesh is being represented at the ambassadorial level at 43 countries. Ambassadors have not been posted to Kabul, Dakar and Tripoli.

The Bangladesh envoys have been categorised under four heads. These are career diplomats, armed service personnel, SSP and distinguished personalities. There are 24 career diplomats, four from Armed Forces, seven from SSP and eight distinguished personalities.

The Foreign Minister told the House that India is the only country with which it has a friendship treaty. He said Government has no immediate plans to sign friendship treaty with any other country. Mr. Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury said it has not been possible to assess Bangladesh's share of the assets of former Pakistan. He however, said Bangladesh having been the major part of Pakistan its share of assets should also be larger.

He said negotiations between two countries are going on to resolve the issue.

He informed the House Pakistan has not responded to working group meeting as was decided during the visit of the then President of Bangladesh to Pakistan in 1977.

The Foreign Minister denied knowledge of any Bangladeshi lady serving prison term in India.

Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Home Affairs Dr. M.A. Matin informed the House that Bangladeshi citizenship has been granted to 918 foreign nationals.

He said in reply to another question that there are four central jails, 14 district jails and 42 sub-jails in the country. He said five sub-jails have been set up in five upazila since 1986 and 22 sub-jails are under construction in 22 upazilas.

The DPM said there are 284 traffic signals in Dhaka city of which 39 are automatic. These traffic signals are maintained jointly by traffic police and Dhaka Municipal Corporation.

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PAPERS REPORT ASIAN GROUP OF 77 MINISTERIAL MEET

Ershad Opens Session

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Sixth Ministerial Meeting of the Asian Group of 77 began in Dhaka on Saturday with a call from President H.M. Ershad to the participating countries for concerted efforts to thrash out a comprehensive programme for world economic recovery and reactivation of balanced global-growth and development.

Joined by 33 developing countries in the Asian Region of the Group of 77 (representing the developing countries as a whole), the three-day meeting, to be followed by a full-dress Group-77 meeting in Havana next month, is being held in preparations for the forthcoming Seventh Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva.

Inaugurating the meeting, President Ershad stressed the need for determined political will to initiate common international action aimed at addressing the present international economic problems in their entirety. "The growing interdependence of the economies of the developed and developing countries and the inextricable linkages between their economic, financial, monetary, trade, debt and development problems are of such profound political and social importance that those can only be dealt with effectively as part of the wider political process," he observed.

At the inaugural session of the meeting, Deputy Prime Minister, Kazi Zafar Ahmed was elected its President. He took over the new responsibilities from the outgoing

President of the Fifth Asian Group-77 meeting, from Iraq.

President Ershad in his inaugural speech at the meeting dwelt at length on the contemporary global economic situation. He noted, the great depression of the 1980s which has caused persistent decline in the living standards in a large number of developing countries, is now in its seventh year. "The 1980s have been called the lost decade. The limited economic recovery in some of the developed countries has not benefited the developing countries. It has instead by-passed them," he observed.

The President called for a fundamental re-thinking of the many inter-related issues of development, trade and finance while pointing out that all possible solutions tried during the past decades are being swept away. He said, "aid, effective and useful in the fifties, continues to decrease. Trade, a priority item on the agenda in the sixties, faces more and more protectionism. Establishment of the new international economic order conceived in the seventies, remains only on paper. The global round of negotiations, agreed by consensus at the beginning of the eighties, is yet to be launched. Multilateralism itself, which is the very basis of all our past efforts, is under siege and being constantly eroded."

He termed the contemporary world economic situation as being in a situation of unprecedented crisis. Referring to the plight of the developing countries in general, he

noted that a development crisis engulfed them all. He pointed out that growing unemployment, declining standards of living, curtailment of social services, falling levels of investments and uneven burden of macro-economic adjustment policies in the developed countries had created the most difficult times for most of the developing countries, witnessing now regression rather than progress.

President Ershad felt that slackening demand and proliferating protectionism, international debt crisis of unprecedented dimension, high real interest rates and shrinkage in all types of financial flows, negative transfer of financial resources, collapse in prices of primary commodities etc caused a continued deterioration in the terms of trade of the developing countries and a further aggravation of the problem of mobilising resources for their growth and development. The least developed countries because of their inherent structural deficiencies face a desperate situation, he added. The persistent crisis has underscored the inherent interdependence and mutually reinforcing character of the global economy both in times of prosperity and adversity, he added.

He felt that Seventh Session of UNCTAD would provide a most timely opportunity to face the contemporary global economic situation. "It will be prudent to take right steps now to negotiate a programme of our own survival. I believe that

today's inaction, indifference and negativism, prompted by short-sighted attitudes will be tomorrow's point of no return," he stated.

Earlier, the Iraqi Minister for Commerce Qubas Abdul Fattah presided over the opening session in his capacity as the leader of his country's delegation which hosted the last Asian Ministerial Meeting of Group of 77. Mr. Fattah handed over the Chairmanship of the present meeting to Bangladesh Deputy Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed.

The Iraqi Minister thanked Bangladesh for hosting the meeting and said that the current meeting is important for the Asian members since it will formulate their policy for the coming Seventh Session of the UNCTAD.

Delegations from 32 countries and representatives from eleven international organisations are also taking part in the three-day Ministerial Meeting.

Report on Declaration

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 17 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Asian developing countries, belonging to the Group of 77 (G—77), have called for concerted efforts by the developed and developing countries as partners in progress to reconstruct international economic relations based on equity, harmony and universality. They have made a strong appeal to all concerned parties involved in the forthcoming UNCTAD—VII talks in Geneva to demonstrate 'genuine political will' to launch a constructive dialogue to "overcome the world economic crisis and to revitalise development and growth, particularly of the developing countries."

The participating countries in the Sixth Ministerial Meeting of the Asian Group of G—77 have expressed their deep concern at the crisis faced by the world economy and the disarray experienced in the international relations.

The Dhaka Declaration, adopted

by the participants on the concluding day's session of the three-day ministerial meeting of Asian Group of G—77 in the city on Monday, has brought into focus the interdependence of countries and interlinkages of issues and problems. It stresses the 'multipolarity of the world economy' while expressing its serious concern at the continuing and increasing erosion of multilateralism and its substitution by bilateral arrangements.

The sixth Asian ministerial meeting, joined in by over 30 countries in the region and about 200 delegates and observers from abroad, dwelt at length during its three-day deliberations the issues relating to resources for development, commodity prices, international trade and Least Developed Countries (LDCs). Held in the context of the Seventh United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) beginning in July next in Geneva, the meeting was purported to formulating the position of the Group of 77 (which represents developing countries as a whole) on issues and

problems to be grappled by the 'global partners on progress' at the UNCTAD—VII.

The Dhaka Declaration, reflecting the Asian perspective of the present world economic crisis and possible policies and measures for its solution, will now be taken up for consideration at the Havana meeting of the Group of 77 as a whole next month. The participants in the Sixth Asian Ministerial meeting expressed the hope in the declaration that it would provide a basis and a direction to the African and Latin American regional meetings of the Group of 77 "not only because the Asian meeting has preceded the other two but also because of the constructive analysis and useful proposals contained in the text."

Deputy Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed in his concluding statement before the Sixth Asian Ministerial meeting in his capacity as its President felt that the spirit of solidarity, cooperation and understanding demonstrated by the participants in their Dhaka meet would lead to an effective action course for

protecting, preserving and promoting the common interests of the developing countries as a whole in partnership with the developed countries.

The Dhaka Declaration as the main outcome of the Sixth Asian Ministerial meeting has endorsed the two parts of the report, prepared earlier by the G-77 in preparation for the Havana G-77 meeting.

Briefing the newsmen after the formal conclusion of the sixth Asian Ministerial Meeting, Deputy Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed, its President, said that the Asian Group of G-77 at its concluding plenary session on the day adopted unanimously the reports of the senior officials meeting of the Group, presented by its president Mr A.B.M. Golam Mostafa, Bangladesh Commerce Secretary.

When asked why the report and

the Dhaka Declaration were not being released to the Press, Kazi Zafar Ahmed said that the Declaration "contains negotiating position of the Group of 77 vis-a-vis the developed countries." The Sixth Asian Ministerial meeting has felt that making the declaration public will "compromise our position before the commencement of UNCTAD-VII," he added.

Meanwhile, the president of the sixth Asian ministerial meeting told the newsmen at the briefing that the representative of PLO made a statement, expressing the Organisation's appreciation of the decision of the Asian ministers on the economic conditions of the occupied Palestine, at the concluding plenary session. Jute Minister Mr Jafar Imam also made a statement explaining Bangladesh stand on economic cooperation among developing countries (ECDC) and technical cooperation among developing countries (TCDC) at the concluding plenary session he said.

Kazi Zafar Ahmed pointed out that the heads of delegations from Kuwait (representing Gulf Cooperation Council), Thailand (representing ASEAN countries), India (representing SAARC countries), Yugoslavia, Malta and Afghanistan offered the vote of thanks at the concluding session of the sixth Asian ministerial meeting. They all expressed warm words of thanks to Bangladesh, President Ershad and its people for the excellent arrangements for the meeting and the generous hospitality shown to the participants, he added.

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PRIME MINISTER RULES OUT MIDTERM ELECTIONS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 17 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Prime Minister Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury was ruthless in analysing the severe ills which beset the nation during the BNP era immediately before the "transfer of power" to the patriotic armed forces by a beleaguered President on March 24, 1982.

Winding up the debate on motion of thanks to President Ershad for his address to Parliament on January 23 last the Prime Minister in his speech on Monday stoutly defended the dissolution of the Second Jatiya Sangsad to relieve the nation from a constitutional crisis.

Allaying the fear of the members resulting from the demand of a mid-term polls by JSD leader Abdur Rab the Prime Minister categorically said the present Jatiya Sangsad would go through its five year term.

[Words Indistinct] wild cheers from the Treasury Bench. The Prime Minister said late President Sattar had voluntarily abdicated from the presidency failing to tackle the prevailing situation. He said this was evident from the speech the late President made before "handing over" power to the armed forces. Refuting Opposition allegation of President Ershad's complete disregard to Parliament which was made clear by the dissolution of the Second Jatiya Sangsad, the Prime Minister said the armed forces had no other option before it.

He asked the Opposition who would have assumed the responsibility of the state after the abdication

of late President Sattar? He want on to add could Martial Law co-exist with then Jatiya Sangsad? The Prime Minister said it would be a travesty of truth to question President Ershad's trust and faith in democracy. He had ordered election at the end of the second year of Martial Law but the offer was spurned by the Opposition, the Prime Minister said.

Defending the right of JSD leader Rab to move the motion of thanks which has described as an unprecedented example the Prime Minister said he was also not aware of another instance where the Opposition has deliberately stalled armed forces offer for return to a democratic set up.

He exhorted the Opposition not to make "truth" the victim of politics. He chastised the [words indistinct] attempting at covering truth with blatant lies.

**Prime Minister
Mizan Chowdhury
said President
Ershad's**

speech to the Jatiya Sangsad was a full and complete account of the existing state of affairs. He said the President had not tried to hide anything from the people. He sketched a rosy picture about Bangladesh economy and said the country has made rapid strides in all sectors. He thanked the Opposition for its role in the Jatiya Sangsad and added constructive criticism makes the Parliament lively. He assured the Opposition that its constructive suggestions would be needed to by the Government.

The discussion on the President's speech continued for 41 days with 151 members, 79 from the Opposition and 72 from the Treasury Bench taking part in the deliberations, the Prime Minister said. This alone proved how important was the presidential address, Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury said.

Deep crisis

Earlier, taking part in the discussion Ahmedul Kabir (Independent) said the nation was moving towards a deep crisis. He demanded restoration of unalloyed parliamentary system in the country. He wondered how could the man who had moved the motion of thanks demand mid-term polls. A.K.M. Khairuzzaman (JP) praised President Ershad for restoring democracy in the country. He lauded the reformative measures undertaken by the Government.

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CSO: 4600/1554

MINISTER REPORTS INTRUSION BY INDIAN SHIP

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

Foreign Minister Mr. Humayun Rashid Chowdhury told the Jatiya Sangsad on Tuesday that the intruding Indian naval ship "Vasco da Gama" left the Bangladesh territorial waters at 10 a.m. on Tuesday. He said the vessel with uniformed men on board entered the Bangladesh territorial water at Raimangal on Monday.

Making a statement in the House on Tuesday evening the Foreign Minister said that Bangladesh navy was keeping sharp vigilance in the Bay of Bengal against the intruders.

The Foreign Minister further said that Bangladesh had made strong protest against the intrusion into the Bangladesh territorial waters by the Indian Naval ship. He said the Indian High Commissioner was called to the Foreign Office at 10:30 p.m. on Monday and a protest note was handed over to him.

The Foreign Minister told the House that Bangladesh navy had sighted the presence of the Indian naval ship at the estuary of the Raimangal River near Talpatty Island at the time of regular patrol. The identification number of the ship was L-14 and it was found anchored at 21 degree 36.5 minute north latitude and 11 degree 15 minute east longitude.

The Foreign Minister informed the House that Bangladesh Navy was patrolling the area and was keeping all time vigil to prevent the intrusion of any foreign vessel within the territorial waters of Bangladesh.

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OBAID NEW SECRETARY GENERAL OF NATIONALIST PARTY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

Lt. Col. (Retd) Mustafizur Rahman has resigned from the post of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). Party chief Begum Khaleda Zia has accepted his resignation and appointed K.M. Obaidur Rahiman, a member of the Standing Committee of the party as new party Secretary-General.

A Press release issued under the signature of Begum Khaleda Zia on Tuesday night said that Mustafizur Rahman has resigned on health and personal grounds and Begum Zia has accepted his resignation. While accepting the resignation of Col. Mustafiz, Begum Zia paid glowing tributes on behalf of her party to the outgoing Secretary-General for his dedicated and sincere services and performance of his responsibility at a crucial time, the Press release said. Col. Mustafiz will remain a member of the party Standing Committee as usual, the Press release added.

Lt. Col. (Retd) Akbar Hossain has been made first Joint Secretary-General of the BNP, the Press release further said.

In another Press release issued the same day, said that party chief Begum Khaleda Zia has accepted the resignation of Abul Hasnat from the post of Presidentship of the Dhaka City Committee. Hasnat had earlier resigned from the City Committee post as a member of the Standing Committee— highest executive body— of the party. Khaleda Zia has accepted resignation of Hasnat from one post. It could not be ascertained what will be the position with regard to his resignation from the membership of the Standing Committee. She will hold a Press conference at the National Press Club at 5 p.m. today (Wednesday).

PARLIAMENT RAISES SALARIES OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Jatiya Sangsad passed six Bills on Tuesday raising the salary and allowances of the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Ministers, Speaker and Deputy Speaker, Leader of the Opposition and Deputy Leader and Members of the Parliament. The Opposition belonging to Eight-party Alliance and Jamaat-i-Islami staged a walkout protesting the enhancement of remunerations and allowances. But they participated in the discussion and moved amendments. Even some of the Opposition members suggested to give comprehensive insurance coverage to the Members of the Parliament. Muslim League supported the Bill.

The salary rise and enhancement of other facilities will be effective with effect from July, 1987.

With the passage of the Bill the monthly salary of an M.P. has been raised from Taka 1500 to Taka 3000 and the medical allowance of Taka 200 remained unchanged. The new provisions have been made for Taka 1500 constituency allowance and Taka 500 sumptuary allowance for the MPs. Their telephone bills has been raised to Taka 30 thousand from Taka 10 thousand to be paid by the Government on submission of bill. The daily allowance has also been increased. The Dearness Allowance (D.A.) has been raised from Taka 75 to Taka 150 and conveyance in Dhaka at the time of session has been raised from Taka 25 to Taka 50.

The salary of the Prime Minister has been raised to Taka 8000 per month from Taka 2200 in 1976. The salary of the Deputy Prime Ministers has been raised to Taka 7000, Ministers Taka 6000, State Ministers Taka 5000, Deputy Minister

Taka 4000, Speaker Taka 8000, Deputy Speaker Taka 6000. The Leader of the Opposition will get all the facilities of a Minister and Deputy Leader will get the facilities of a State Minister.

All the Bills were moved by Prime Minister Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury. He told the House that the Government was aware of the anxieties of the members to create opportunity for their participation in development activities. He said that the members would be informed about the exercise in this regard in due time.

Defending the Bills Kazi Zafar

Ahmed told the House, that the remuneration of the Members should be increased so that they could lead a dignified life. Kazi Zafar said the passage of these Bills was not contradictory to the prestige of the Members. Neither it would stand in the way of removing poverty and unemployment in the country.

Kazi Zafar Ahmed said that the Government was considering to assign not only development task to the MPs but also associating them in the government. Kazi Zafar said that this Parliament was fully sovereign in respect of law making and policy formulation. He asked the Opposition not to suffer from contradiction. He held that it would not be proper to take the benefits of the bill after opposing it fully. He said if any member feels that it would not be proper to take the enhanced benefit he could donate this money to the President's Relief Fund.

Earlier the opposition members opposed the passage of this Bills and moved amendment suggesting to circulate the Bills for eliciting public

opinion. All the amendments were put to vote and the house rejected all of them. The Opposition agreed on to discuss all the six Bills at a time as the basic principle of these Bills are the same. The Deputy Speaker, however, put all the Bills separately in the house and passed them, in 45 minutes time. The House, however, discussed the Bills for more than two hours.

The Opposition members said that they did not want enhancement of their salary. Rather they want more dignity of the MPs and the Parliament. They said the Members of the Parliament had no role in the development activities and trades of the Opposition members were against the Upazila Chairmen and the Deputy Commissioners.

The Opposition Members said that the electorates would criticise them if they pass these Bills. Be-

cause the Sangsad could not pass any Bill for exempting the farmers of the loans, for bringing down the prices of essential commodities etc. Some of the members even said this was an attempt to undermine the image of the Parliament in the eyes of the people by passing the salary hike bills.

The Muslim League Member, Mr. Ainuddin, however, supported the Bill saying that the Members of the British Parliament started taking remuneration right from 1911.

The Opposition Members who participated in the discussion are: Tofael Ahmed, M.A. Jalil, Asaduzzaman, Proshun Kanti Roy, Syed Altaf Hussain, Shamsur Rahman, Shahjahan Khan, Ahmedul Kabir, Mirza Sultan Raja, Mosharraf Hussain, Mujibur Rahman and others.

/13104
CSO: 4600/1555

JAMAAT LEADER ADDRESSES DHAKA PUBLIC MEETING

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Acting Ameer of Jamaat-e-Islami Abbas Ali Khan called for an united movement in order to force the resignation of the present government.

Speaking at a public meeting organised by the Dhaka City unit of Jamaat-e-Islami in observance of the democracy killing day at the Export Fair Ground (Sher-e Bangla Nagar) on Tuesday, he said that Jamaat-e-Islami had been fighting for the realisation of the people's rights for the last five years along with other democratic forces. He remarked that although Martial Law was withdrawn the autocratic rule has been established in the country under the cover of civil character.

Mr. Abbas Ali Khan said that they were not allowed to hold any meetings to observe the 'democracy killing day' at Baitul Mukarram, Fulbaria and Manik Mia Avenue. He said that the present government had taken over from an elected government. The present Government swept over the elections with an overwhelming majority votes when not more than two per cent voters did turn up in the voting centres, he asserted.

The Acting Ameer said that the present Jatiya Sangshad is now in the grip of one man and therefore,

he asserted, this parliament could not bring any welfare for the masses.

Mr. Abbas Ali said that the present government had taken over on the plea of corruption but on the contrary, he opined corruption has now reached its peak. The present government in no way can ensure security of life and property of the people, he added.

Mr. Abbas Ali Khan asserted that the people have been thrown into an intolerable situation following soaring prices of the daily essentials and enhancement of bus fare. Even, a good number of peasants have burnt down their jute as they did not get fair price of their products, he said.

The acting Ameer pointed out that during Ayub's regime Pakistan had 22 families but now we have 220 families in Bangladesh who control about 90 per cent of the country's total wealth.

Mr. Abbas Ali Khan asserted that Jamaat-e-Islami has no malice to any party or any individual.

Presided over by Mr. Ali Ahsan Muhammad Muzahidi, Ameer of Dhaka City unit of Jamaat-e-Islami, the meeting was addressed among others by Professor Muhammad Yusuf Ali, Joint Secretary of Jamaat-e-Islami, Professor Mujibur Rahman, M.P.,

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CSO: 4600/1560

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AGAINST MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Jatiya Party Secretary-General Major General (Rtd) Mahmudul Hasan, Minister Without Portfolio called for bringing 8th amendment to the Constitution to prevent promulgation of Martial Law in future. He did not elaborate.

Participating in the general discussion on President's speech on Saturday in the Jatiya Sangsad Mr. Mahmudul Hasan asked the Opposition to refrain from creating any situation which might invite Martial Law and advised them not to rush to the Generals seeking promulgating of Martial Law. He called upon the politicians to come forward to form a samity of the political forces to achieve this goal unitedly.

Opposing the proposal for 8th amendment of the Constitution suggested by Suranjit Sen Gupta pleading for parliamentary democracy Jatiya Party Secretary-General said nation had given verdict in favour of presidential system. He quoted from the speech of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who also justified presidential system.

Mr. Mahmudul Hasan claimed that Awami League and Bangla Bani newspaper welcomed promulgation of Martial Law in 1982 and struggled in vain for five years against Martial Law. He said with oblique reference to erstwhile 15-party alliance members in the parliament that they started movement along with Seven-party Alliance. Now you have made one of the alliance leaders your leader in the House leaving another on the street. He said along with the struggle conspiracy also continued to dodge each other during the last five years.

Mr. Mahmudul Hasan said that when he was a Brigadier he asked one of his closest politician friends

to define politics. He defined politics in the following words: "Don't do what you promise, say something in the morning and another thing in the evening". He said President Ershad had introduced politics of development and the Awami League introduced politics of loot, hijack, famine and killing.

Mr. Mahmudul Hasan said through the 7th Amendment the parliament has been made legal and the Opposition was enjoying the fruit of the 7th Amendment without participating in voting. He said if there is no 7th Amendment today there will be fresh election and the Awami League will not get even five seats.

Major General Mahmudul Hasan said that President Ershad had undertaken a number of reforms in various fields during the five years of his rule. He said the Opposition do not enjoy the confidence of the people and hence even after five years of movement they could not compel the government to withdraw Martial Law. He said even if Martial Law continued for ten years the Opposition could do nothing.

Anwar slates

'72 constitution

Participating in the discussion Mr. Anwar Hussain, Minister for Energy and Mineral Resources called for stable constitutional system in the country for continuity of democracy process in the country, he held that the forces who were out to destroy this parliament were active on the street. He said the ultra political forces were also very active and every one must realise this.

Mr. Anwar Hussain said that aspiration of the people of Bangladesh was to rule this country and solve their problems within the

framework of a constitution. It did not materialise during the Pakistani rule and the constitution which was framed in 1972 did not also fulfil the hopes and aspiration of the people fully. He regretted that even the framers of that constitution did not even bother to put on referendum for acceptance by the people in 1973 general election. He also criticised the article 38 and article 10 of the 1972 Constitution which, according to him the infringement of the fundamental rights of the people. He also criticised the continuation of the detention act in the 1972 Constitution and also the Presidential Order 9. He criticised the acceptance of socialism as a state Principle without having the mandate of the people. He said the socialist system had failed even in USSR and China. He held that the nation can prosper only combining the individual initiative with the available resources of the country and through their proper utilisation in stable political environment.

AL MPs

Awami League Parliamentary party whip Mr. M.A. Jalil and Mr. Mosharraf criticised the present Government for failure in every field. They held that the present government and the government after 1975 received huge aid from external sources and spent them for unproductive purposes. They called for restoring parliamentary democracy in the country reviving the 1972 constitution.

Earlier Mr. Aktaruzzaman Choudhury highlighted the economic problems of the country and said that without a cordial relation between the government and the industrialists there could be no industrial progress. He identified the smugglers as number one enemies of the country. He also called for further incentives to attract investors and said without industrialisation the nation can not survive.

Sajeda

Begum Sajeda Chowdhury, General Secretary of Bangladesh Awami League in a statement on Saturday strongly condemned the police action on members of Islami Shasanta Andolon at Baitul Mukarram Square on Friday.

AMENDED LAW PAVES WAY FOR REVIVAL OF CRIMINAL CASES

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Mar 87 pp 1, 10

[Text]

The Jatiya Sangsad passed two Bills amending the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1958 and Civil Courts Amendment Act, 1887 on Thursday.

The Amendment of the Criminal Law Act of 1958 provided for, among others, specification of the powers of some of the special judges, refixation of the time-limit for investigation of offences triable under the Act and revival of certain stopped cases. The time-limit for investigation has been raised from 60 days to 180 days.

Regarding continuance and revival of the trial of some cases, the Bill said, "All proceedings in respect of an offence triable under the said Act, which at any time before the date of commencement of the Act stood stopped or deemed to have been stopped under Section 339C of the said Code, shall be deemed never to have been so stopped and shall be deemed to be continuing."

In the Civil Courts Amendment Act, the word 'Munsif' has been substituted by the word 'Assistant Judge.'

On the continuance and trial of certain cases, the amendment states the following :

"Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal

Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), herematter referred to as the said Code, or in any other law for the time being in force, or in any judgement, decision or order of any Court, including the Supreme Court,—

"(a) all proceedings in respect of an offence triable under the said Act which, at any time before the date of commencement of this Act, stood stopped or deemed to have been stood stopped under section 339C of the said Code shall be deemed never to have been so stopped and shall be deemed to be continuing at such date, unless any such proceedings had been concluded before such date, in the court in which such proceedings were pending on the date they stood stopped or deemed to have been stood stopped, and such cases shall be concluded within a period of two years from the date of commencement of this Act and if such proceedings can not be concluded within that period, further proceedings in respect of the cases shall stand stopped and the accused persons released;

"(b) all proceedings in respect of an offence triable under the said Act which, at any time before the date of commencement of this Act, were concluded after the expiry of the

time specified in section 339C of the said Code shall, notwithstanding such expiry, be deemed to be and always to have been validity concluded and shall not be called in question in or before any Court, including the Supreme Court, merely on the ground that they were concluded after such expiry;

"(c) the accused in a case the trial of which is deemed to be continuing at the date of commencement of this Act under clause (a) shall, if in custody, be released on bail to the satisfaction of the court, unless for reasons to be recorded in writing the court otherwise directs."

According to the specification of the powers of some of the Special Judges under the amended Act, the court of a Special Judge will be known as a "Court of Sessions" if the Special Judge is or has been a Sessions Judge or an Additional Sessions Judge or an Assistant Sessions Judge.

If the Special Judge is or has been a Metropolitan Magistrate or a Magistrate of the First Class, as the case may be, the court will be called "a Court of a Metropolitan Magistrate or a Magistrate of the First Class".

The Sub-Divisional Magistrate will be known as Metropolitan or Upazila Magistrate.

/13104
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PRESS RELEASE TELLS TREATMENT OF LOAN DEFULTERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 9 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The growth of industry in the private sector is one of the important and integral parts of Government policy and to this end a number of measures were taken during the last few years, reports BSS.

Industrial policy of 1986 embodies the policy of the Government to promote industries in the private sector.

A Press release issued by Finance Ministry in Dhaka on Sunday the Government is always conscious of the various problems faced by the sponsors of industries. In the last budget tax and tariff structures were simplified to encourage investment in the private sector. During the last few years, the loan liabilities of sponsors of industries increased owing to devaluation of Taka. To ameliorate their debt burdens, the Government introduced a concessional scheme called Exchange Risk Fluctuation Absorption Burden Scheme (EFAS) in 1983. Moreover, in lieu of partial payment of the overdues, loan liabilities have been rescheduled. In special cases provision have been made to remit all the penal interest and 50 per cent of normal interest. To help new sponsors of industries the Government has agreed to shoulder the exchange risk burden in lieu of a small premium.

Some of the borrowers raised questions about the accuracy of their accounts with the DFIS and to look into this problem the Government set up an independent committee under the chairmanship of Mr. A.F.M.A. Hossain, an eminent economist. Amongst others, unofficial members were included in the

committee representing the various industrial sub-sectors. Borrowers were given the opportunity to present their cases individually and separately to the committee.

The committee listened to more than one hundred such borrowers from the private sector and the government accepted most of the recommendations of the Hossain Committee relating to loan liabilities and repayment thereof. DFIS were also instructed to implement these recommendations.

Each borrower/ industry was informed to the relevant recommendations of the Hossain Committee. Moreover, in line with the committee report those borrowers who had not availed themselves of the benefits under EFAS were given an extended time to avail the same with some additional concession.

Loans stand at Tk.

700cr.

Even after these various concessions offered by the Government some of the borrowers did not only refrain from paying their overdue loans but encouraged others to follow suit. Consequently, overdue loans with the two major financial institutions stand at around Taka 700 crores.

On one hand, these overdue loans remain unpaid while at the same time the Government and the financial institutions have been making regular repayment of loans to foreign donors. In fact the burden of repayment has eventually fallen on the general public.

Moreover, it has become ex-

tremely difficult to mobilise foreign assistance in view of these dismal loan recovery situations. The shortage of foreign exchange has slowed down investment in new projects. Non-payment of loans has strained the liquidity of the financial institutions so much so that it has heavily told upon the availability of Taka resources to be lent for investment.

Consequently, the new sponsors have been deprived of the desired financial assistance. It has further weakened the prospect for promoting creative efforts in the industrial sector in line with the announced creative efforts in the industrial sector in line with announced industrial policy of the Government.

Even against these adverse conditions Bangladesh Shilpa Bank (BSB) has continued to sanction new projects in the private sector. During the first eight months of the current financial year BSB has sanctioned assistance to projects which show 45 per cent increase over the same period last year. In view of the non-availability of assistance from external sources, arrangements had to be made through the Bangladesh Bank to make cash foreign exchange available for setting up new industries.

In the national plan, industrialisation has been identified as a major strategy for economic growth and generation of employment opportunities. In fact during the Third Five-Year Plan, industrial expansion is the main vehicle for providing new employment. The Press release said those who wilfully obstruct this policy and objective of the Government are palpably engaged in activities prejudicial to

national interests.

To safeguard and protect the financial system and process of industrialisation against the prejudicial and anti-national activities of some of the defaulters of industrial enterprises, who have continuously and deliberately avoided repayment of their loan obligations, steps have been taken to take over their projects, and deal with such defaulters with stern hand.

To thwart such prejudicial acts by a handful of defaulters the Government has detained a few of them under the Special Powers Act, the Press release said.

Fund defalcation

Some of the defaulters who have been detained have substantially defalcated the funds that were approved for investment in the projects. Some of them have removed assets of the projects from sites,

while others have left the projects incomplete after having taken the full financial assistance from the DFIS.

There are some who enjoyed the profits from the projects for some period and would now like to abandon the same. Some dishonest borrowers even gave the financial institutions false impression of their intention to come to settlement with them with regard to repayment of the loans so that the DFIS will withdraw all legal processes against them.

Having achieved that, they went back on their settlement. The Press release said it hardly needs any further elaboration, that a handful of dishonest borrower is out to cripple the economic backbone of the country. In the interest of the nation and to promote a sound industrial policy the Government cannot be oblivious to such

activities.

Detention Acclaimed

The Press release said that the detention of such wilful defaulters has been acclaimed from many quarters and it is the responsibility of the Government to deal squarely with those who want to undermine the efforts of the state, and to extend a helping hand to those who are genuinely interested in promoting industries. The Government is firmly committed to discharge its pledges to nation.

It is hoped that the defaulters would lose no time and come to a settlement of their loan obligations with the financial institutions failing which the Government will be constrained to take such further actions against more such wilful defaulters in the greater interest of the nation and the Country's economy, the Press release said.

/13104
CSO: 4600/1549

PAPERS REPORT TROUBLES BETWEEN RAJIV, ZAIL SINGH

Gandhi Remarks in Rajya Sabha

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 5 Mar 87 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 4.—Mr Rajiv Gandhi today attacked the Opposition parties for "politicizing" the high office of the President and pleaded with them to abandon this negative approach in the overall interest of democratic institutions in the country, reports UNI. Replying to the debate in the Rajya Sabha on the motion of thanks to the President for his address, which the House later adopted rejecting all the amendments, he said politicization would spell danger to the nation as a whole.

In a 70-minute speech marked by frequent angry exchanges with senior Opposition leaders, the Prime Minister sought their co-operation to combat communalism and terrorism.

Mr Gandhi said he himself had briefed the President at the airport on his arrival from Calcutta regarding tension on the India-Pakistan border. He said he had taken the President aside at the airport itself and briefed him on the border situation.

Later, the Defence Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, gave a detailed briefing to the President.

Our Special Representative adds: The Prime Minister affirmed that his Government was determined not to become communal in the process of fighting communalism. It was necessary to bring those in the fringes into the mainstream, he said.

GNLF

In this context, he cited the example of the GNLF and said the question was whether "we are going to push the GNLF outside the system or act responsibly". He said he was glad that the Chief Minister of West Bengal had helped bring the GNLF back into the mainstream. "It took a lot of cour-

age for the Chief Minister to go back from his position", Mr Gandhi said.

His references to the CPI(M), West Bengal and "the party which had organized the rally" led to angry exchanges with members across. At one stage, the Prime Minister accused the "RSS, which is backing the BJP, is a communal organization," provoking Mr Advani to ask about the Congress (I)'s links with the Muslim League (in Kerala).

At another stage when Mr Gandhi said he was totally confused about the stand of the Janata Party on Punjab because of conflicting statements by the party men in the House and by their party president outside, Mr M. S. Gurupadaswamy (J) said that indeed it was the point—the Prime Minister was totally confused.

There were more heated exchanges with CPI(M) members with their leader Mr Samar Mukherjee, asking Mr Gandhi to define socialism and the Prime Minister retorting that "we don't need to look to Moscow or Beijing for defining socialism" and quoting from one

of Nehru's speeches on socialism. Much of what the Prime Minister told the Rajya Sabha, specially on China and Pakistan, was similar to the comments he made in the Lok Sabha yesterday while replying to the debate in that House on the President's address. Talking about Pakistan's nuclear programme he did add a note of warning. "Let there be no doubt about our determination and capacity to respond to threats".

Mr Gandhi said the present system of education was totally elitist. No Government school matched public schools and children of parents with more resources got better education. This was going to be corrected, he affirmed.

He gave figures to show that in the past two years a total investment of more than Rs 29,000 crores had been made in the public sector against the Rs 3,000-odd crores invested in each of the three previous years. The Government's commitment was not to have a dead public sector, but a public sector which could provide the lead.

Gandhi Claim Unconvincing

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 Mar 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Office of President"]

[Text]

The Prime Minister's claim that he and his ministers have kept the President of the Republic fully informed on important developments is wholly unconvincing and so is his attempt to blame the opposition for "politicising" the office of the head of state. As far as we can recall, this is the first time since he took over as Prime Minister in his own right on December 31, 1984, that Mr. Gandhi has made such a claim; in 1985 he had revelled in the charge that he was ignoring the President. Obviously there are good reasons for this change of stance which we shall refer to later. Right now we would wish to make the point that one does not need to depend on leaks either from Rashtrapati Bhawan or the Prime Minister's office to be able to catalogue the "differences" between them. One has only to go through newspaper clippings to list the numerous occasions when Mr. Gandhi should, according to the well-established convention, have called on Giani Zail Singh to brief him and he did not. Mr. Gandhi and his aides may not have much respect for the fourth estate. But they cannot deny the reported facts. They would, for example, find it difficult to cite at best more than an instance or two when the Prime Minister has called on the President after a visit abroad or briefed him after the visit of a foreign dignitary to New Delhi. Similarly, they would find it hard to explain why the Giani has not been allowed to avail of the many invitations from foreign governments or why Congress M.P.s have issued statements which cannot be said to have raised the status of office of the President.

Giani Zail Singh is a politician of long standing with specially keen interest in developments in Punjab. He was bound to feel unhappy if the Prime Minister did not even go through the motions of keeping him informed on the state, as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi did not. But he could perhaps have lived with this irritation if he had not felt humiliated on other counts. It is indisputable that he felt humiliated and he cannot in fairness be blamed for it. Imagine Congress chief ministers not inviting him to their states, or finding excuses to postpone a visit by him, or ministers not caring to heed his requests to go to Rashtrapati Bhawan or reports of inquiry commissions being withheld from him, or paragraphs being deleted from his Independence Day broadcast after it had been recorded and circulated to the press. As it was only to be expected, he has reacted. Here we enter a grey area. We cannot say for certain whether or not the Giani would have given his assent to the controversial Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill if he was not angry with the Prime Minister, or whether or not he would have taken exception to the terms of the accord with Mr. Laldenga in respect of Mizoram. But it is a reasonable assumption that he would not have been as critical of the Prime Minister and the government as he in fact has been if he had not felt ignored.

Regardless of personalities involved, the relationship between the President and the Prime Minister are bound to be uneasy for the good and simple reasons that while the latter would tend to seek to reduce him to the role of a rubber stamp, the latter would resent it. The controversy between Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Nehru on the role of the President is too well known to need reiteration. Similarly, it is also well known that Dr. Radhakrishnan was critical of the way Mr. Nehru had handled India's relationship with China. During the emergency which Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed had proclaimed at Mrs. Indira Gandhi's instance without raising any question, the then Prime Minister had thought it necessary to push through parliament a constitutional amendment which specifically stated that the President shall be guided by the advice of the Prime Minister. This was clearly an expression of her unwillingness to trust even the obliging Mr. Ahmed completely. The problems that arose between Mr. Sanjiva Reddy as President and Mr. Morarji Desai as Prime Minister have been listed. By its very nature this issue cannot be satisfactorily settled. For, if the President is reduced to a rubber stamp, he forfeits the nation's respect and his office loses its *raison d'être*. If he exercises his function of cautioning and counselling the Prime Minister like the British monarch, he is likely to run into difficulties with the Prime Minister. The relationship has, therefore, to be handled with care. On the evidence available to us, we cannot in all conscience say that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has exercised the necessary care. And it looks as if the Giani has seized the initiative in the cold war between them. This is a measure of his political skill which Mr. Gandhi's advisers appear to have underestimated.

Janata Leader's Comments

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 11 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 10.

MR. Madhu Dandavate, Janata MMP, maintains that the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has called on the President, Mr. Zail Singh, formally only twice in two years and thereby given cause for an estrangement of relations.

Even when the troops were moved to the Indo-Pak border recently, the government informed a few editors first. "This is no way to treat the President of India who is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces," the Janata leader said.

Mr. Dandavate had yesterday sought the permission of the speaker, Mr. Balram Jakhar, to raise a privilege motion against the Prime Minister in connection with his references to the President. The Speaker disallowed the member from raising the privilege issue and also observed that whosoever had said anything about the President, ought not to have said it in the house. The speaker refused to name those who had made such references on March 2, even though Mr. Dandavate repeatedly asked him to do so. On March 2, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Amlan Datta (CPM) had made such references.

The Janata leader's point was that the Rule 352(vi) provided that none could use the name of the President to influence the course of the debate. His own effort was only to discuss the Prime Minister's conduct, not the

President's. "I would very much like an impartial observer to see the Prime Minister's diary which will show that he formally called on the President only twice in two years," he remarked.

Under Article 74 of the Constitution, the President had to function with the aid and advice of the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The question that arose in view of the estrangement of relationship between the Prime Minister and the President was whether the former periodically and formally met the President to report to him on important national developments, it was stated.

Mr. Dandavate said there was certain background to this entire issue. India's first Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, used to call on the President every Monday morning. This convention of meeting the President every week could not be kept by Mr. Nehru only after the Chinese aggression in 1962, when the then President, Mr. S. Radhakrishnan, himself requested Mr. Nehru to meet him once a month in view of his failing health.

The tradition was kept up by successive Prime Ministers: Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Morarji Desai. But Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had thought it fit to violate this healthy practice and create a problematic situation, Mr. Dandavate said. "The issue is far from settled," he said.

Correspondent on Singh Letter

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 13.

The President, Mr. Zail Singh, wants the "full facts" about his relationship with the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to be conveyed to Parliament.

In a two-page letter sent to the Prime Minister on March 9, the President questioned the account given by the former to Parliament on their dealings in the past.

The letter, which contained the counter-points of the President, ended thus: "You may share these with Parliament so that full facts are known to the people's representatives".

This operative plea, which did not figure in the first reports of the President's letter, gave a new dimension to the multifaceted controversy over the relationship between the Head of State and the Head of Government.

Intermediate approach

This suggestion, according to one interpretation, amounted to an intermediate approach under the Constitution. He could directly communicate to either House but, instead of exercising that right, he wanted the Prime Minister to convey his (Mr. Zail Singh's) version to Parliament.

Under Art. 86(2), "the President may send messages to either House of Parliament, whether with respect to a bill then pending in Parliament or otherwise, and the House to which any message is so sent shall with all convenient despatch consider any matter required by the message to be taken into consideration". The words "or otherwise" were relevant in the present context.

On the Mail Interception Bill, too, the President followed an intermediate approach and, instead of returning the measure to Parliament, suggested to the Government that it be reviewed and objectionable features deleted.

The latest letter climaxed a series of communications, sent by the President to the Prime Minister on a wide range of subjects like the Mizoram accord, the need for statehood for Arunachal Pradesh and Goa, the remarks of Mr. K. K. Tewary, now Minister of State for Industry, on the alleged Rashtrapati Bhavan hospitality to persons inimical to Indian interests, reports of inquiry commissions and the coded messages received by the Government from foreign missions.

Recently, the President mildly conveyed his views on one or two points in the draft of the address, prepared by the Cabinet, for delivery at the joint session of Parliament. He would have liked the wholesome praise to the Punjab Chief Minister, Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala, to be diluted. Also, he drew attention to the point that the word "socialism" did not occur in the draft. The President, however, did not pursue these points.

'Factual position'

The March 9 letter referred to Mr. Gandhi's remarks in Parliament (that the President had been briefed on important issues of national importance), appreciated the spirit behind these observations—of putting the issue of their relationship beyond controversy—but said that "the factual position had been at variance with what had been stated by you". The delicate relationship, he said, had "to be nurtured" by mutual trust, concern for conventions and an empathetic and free exchange of views".

Without mincing words, the President told the Prime Minister that certain well established practices governing their relationship had not been followed.

Not briefed

The President complained that he had not been briefed by the Prime Minister on his discussion with foreign dignitaries, Mr. Zail Singh's letter said: "Before your visit abroad and after your return I have not been briefed. To quote a specific instance, after your visit to the U.S. and stopover at Moscow, and your discussions with the top leaders of these superpowers though I had requested you, at a banquet for a visiting dignitary, to let me know your impression to which you had agreed, but I was not briefed. Similarly, I was given no briefing after the SAARC deliberations at Bangalore. In fact I have not been briefed on foreign policy issues relating to such of our immediate neighbours in South Asia with which there are outstanding problems".

The President recalled that "since you did not meet me after my visit to Nepal and subsequent visits to Yugoslavia, Greece and Poland, I sent you notes on my impressions of these visits".

Even in the domestic field, the President complained he had not been kept informed on matters relating to accords finalised in respect of

Assam, Punjab and Mizoram. "I was not briefed at any stage. On the other hand, when I had specifically requested you to meet me after my visit to Jammu and Kashmir last year, there was no response from you".

It was distressing, said Mr. Zail Singh, that "constitutional provisions regarding furnishing of information to the President have not been consistently followed. I have brought it to your notice that reports of some of commissions of enquiry had not been sent to me even long after their receipt by the Government. I specifically raised this point with the Home Minister when he came to obtain my assent to the Commission of Enquiry (Amendment) Bill 1986. I am yet to receive some of the reports promised by him".

Politicisation

The letter added "you have also said in your reply in Parliament that the Opposition is politicising the office of the President. In fact the politicisation was started by an Hon'ble member of the ruling party in April, 1985. I had brought it to your attention then that there was an emerging trend to drag in the President's office into political controversy. The member concerned was subsequently elevated to the Council of Ministers.

"It is not my intention to catalogue all such instances, but I do feel that if relations between the Prime Minister and the President are maintained in line with the letter and spirit of Constitution, keeping national interest paramount, there will be no room for comment or speculation from any quarter. This delicate relationship has to be nurtured by mutual trust, concern for conventions and an empathetic and free exchange of views".

The letter concluded: "as you have already conveyed your view to Parliament, I felt I should convey to you the factual position on the subject. You may share these with Parliament so that the full facts are known to the people's representatives".

In the earlier letter to the Prime Minister on Mizoram, the President questioned the wisdom of putting a premium on violence. Obviously, Mr. Zail Singh was not happy with the Government's dealings with Mr. Laldenga because of the latter's insurgency past. When Mr. Zail Singh did not get a reply to his letter on the subject and complained on that score, he was reminded that the Mizoram problem dated back to the days when he was Home Minister and that he was putting "that chap" (Mr. Laldenga) in a bad light.

Similarly, the President did not want the Government to single out Mizoram for upgradation to full statehood but wanted a decision on it to be

IN A HAPPIER MOMENT: The President, Mr. Zail Singh and the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, receive a foreign dignitary at the airport, in this picture taken last year

made part of a package, which would include statehood for Arunachal Pradesh and Goa. Arunachal Pradesh had since been made a full State.

The President sent his letter on Jammu and Kashmir after his return from the State. Basing himself on the views heard from a wide cross-section of people, Mr. Zail Singh drew attention to the dangers of the policy of drift and conveyed to the Prime Minister the urgency of taking remedial steps.

That was before the Congress(I)'s accord with Dr. Farooq Abdullah, now the State's Chief Minister.

Coded messages stopped

From January 1985, when the spy scandal involving the personal staff of the then Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister—Mr. P. C. Alexander—and a staff member of Rashtrapati Bhavan came to light, the External Affairs Ministry stopped sending to the President the coded messages, received from foreign missions. Several letters from the President's office to the Ministry made no difference. The practice was restored more than a year later, after Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran took over as Foreign Secretary.

As regards the President's complaint that he had not been given copies of the inquiry commissions' reports, the Prime Minister was believed to have replied that he was getting the matter examined. Till now, the President had been given reports of the commissions headed by Justice Mathew and Justice Venkataramiah but not of others. Even the Mishra Commission report was not sent to the President before it was presented to Parliament.

Analyst Assesses Damage

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Mar 87 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 13.

The deepening controversy over the relations between the President and the Prime Minister is getting murkier and murkier with open violations of the oaths of secrecy and the Official Secrets Act by persons in high positions in the Government.

It is an open secret that some highly placed functionaries in the Government have been indulging in deliberate leaks of official documents through their minions, either to malign the President or embarrass the Prime Minister—and, in the process, bring discredit to the Indian constitutional system for settling petty scores.

A public row: There have been frictions of one kind or the other between successive Presidents and Prime Ministers over their respective roles under the Indian Constitution, but these differences have been kept within manageable limits all these years, since any open controversy over the nature of the official relationship between the President and the Prime Minister would have done considerable damage to both of them. But now the simmering controversy has spilled over assuming the character of a public row much to the delight of the

Opposition parties which are trying to draw some comfort from it.

It is common knowledge in Delhi that the contents of secret official files with their reference numbers were made available to some sections of the press to indict the President. Mr. Zail Singh, that while he was Home Minister he had supported the idea of the Postal Amendment Act empowering the Government to intercept private mail for security reasons. The intention of this leakage was to expose the "double standards" of the President in delaying his assent to the Bill on the ground that it was violative of the fundamental rights of the citizens.

No matter who leaked the latest letter from the President to the Prime Minister, challenging the veracity of his statements in Parliament, it had sought to prove that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi did not speak the truth, or the whole truth, when he said that he had been keeping the President fully briefed on all important issues. It was quite obviously intended to sharpen the controversy on the eve of the forthcoming Presidential election by creating an impression that Mr. Zail Singh had been not only ignored but also treated with scant respect which was against the very spirit of the Constitution.

PM confers with Cabinet panel: The Prime Minister, who has taken a serious view of this development, conferred today with the members of the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet and the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs on how this controversy should be handled by the Government in the prevailing political atmosphere. It is not without significance that none of the Congress (I) stalwarts who hitherto never missed an opportunity to talk disparagingly of the President have chosen to remain silent on this occasion.

But this does not mean that the normal discontent and ferment in the ruling party over the division of the loaves and fishes of office have started assuming political overtones. It only implies that there is some sort of vicarious satisfaction bordering on perverse glee within the party over the Prime Minister's discomfiture.

The President has nothing to lose on airing his differences with the Prime Minister in the open, since he has only four months left to complete his five-year tenure. But the Prime Minister will have to live with this controversy since the next President, whoever it is, is bound to ins-

ist on greater consideration being shown to him in his capacity as the head of State.

There were many occasions in the past when the Presidents and Prime Ministers exchanged strongly worded correspondence over many issues. But in almost all cases whether it was between Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal Nehru, or Indira Gandhi and V. V. Giri, or Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, the exchange of such letters was treated as strictly confidential since these were covered by the Official Secrets Act.

Conventions thrown to winds: It is only now that all the conventions have been thrown to the winds and those bound by the oath of secrecy have indulged in leakages amounting to gross violations of the Official Secrets Act. The result is that this unfortunate controversy over the relationship between the President and the Prime Minister is doing considerable damage both to the individuals and institutions involved in it.

The Government has to take a close look at this aspect which transcends the personal animosities or political differences between the head of State and the head of Government

More Details on Letter

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 15 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, March 14: The Prime Minister is yet to acknowledge a letter from the President, Mr Zail Singh, disputing Mr Rajiv Gandhi's claim that he was keeping the President informed about all important matters.

Official sources in both the Prime Minister's office and the President's secretariat said there had been no reply from Mr Gandhi.

Mr Zail Singh's letter, dated March 9 and published in the *Indian Express* yesterday, contradicted the Prime Minister's statements in the Lok Sabha last week. The letter was received in the Prime Minister's office on March 10.

Although Mr Gandhi has had confabulations with his senior ministerial and party colleagues about the sudden turn of events, he has not yet written to the President.

The President was in Pune for an official engagement, when the letter found its way to the press. While Mr Zail Singh returned to the capital last night, the Prime Minister left this morning on an election tour of West Bengal and will return here on Wednesday next week.

Meanwhile, in a portion of the letter, that was not published in the *Indian Express*, the President has

advised the Prime Minister to share the contents of his letter with Parliament "so that the full facts are known to the people's representatives."

Under the Constitution, the President can send a message directly to either House of Parliament. But the fact that he asked the Prime Minister to inform Parliament of the developments means that he is not yet ready to exercise the option.

Parliament is scheduled to meet again on March 18 (Wednesday) after an extended weekend for the Holi festival. Wednesday is normally the Prime Minister's day in the Lok Sabha to answer scheduled questions. It is likely that he may make a *suo moto* statement on the issue. Even otherwise, the Opposition is certain to raise the issue again in view of the latest disclosures in the President's letter.

The letter, which implies that the Prime Minister had misled Parliament, comes as a climax to a turbulent relationship between Mr Gandhi and Mr Zail Singh, whose term ends four months from now. The Opposition leader, Mr Madhu Dandavate, said the Prime Minister had called on the President just twice during the last two years.

Rajiv Replies, Other Comment

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Mar 87 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 17.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today sent a detailed reply to the President's letter of March 9, giving his version of how Mr. Zail Singh had been kept informed of all important decisions of the Government in the true spirit of the Constitution.

The reply, which was drafted by the Prime Minister's staff, was sent to Kerala for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's consideration along with explanatory notes on the political implications of the stand that the Government had not held back any legitimate information from the President.

The Prime Minister's reply in its final form was sent to Delhi by an official courier, after Mr. Gandhi approved the draft with some modifications, to be delivered to the President at the Rashtrapati Bhavan this afternoon. He had to decide how far the reply should go in disputing the validity of the President's charges or confirming himself to a reaffirmation of his earlier contention that Mr. Zail Singh had been kept informed on all issues of national importance.

A middle course

According to informed sources, the Prime Minister is reported to have chosen a middle course in the hope of putting an end to this controversy without appearing to challenge the veracity of the President's observations. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Zail Singh would send a reply to the Prime Minister's letter carrying forward this controversy to the point of questioning the accuracy of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's contention.

In either case the Opposition parties would not allow this controversy to be closed so easily without a further public debate on it. And the Government is taking all possible care to ensure that the Prime Minister's reply does not get published in the press like the President's letter causing considerable embarrassment.

RV reserves ruling

Our Special Correspondent writes:

The suspense on the likely form of the controversy over the President, Mr. Zail Singh's letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, continued today as the Rajya Sabha Chairman, Mr. R. Venkataraman, reserved his ruling on the subject.

As the House met after the Holi break, Mr. Venkataraman informed the members of his desire for a deep study of the issue which was very important and involved interpretation of the Constitution. He would have to examine constitutional provisions and possibly get information in regard to other constitutions, like those of Canada and Australia. It would, therefore, not be possible for him to give a ruling before March 20.

Though they were keen on knowing the Chairman's views, members agreed to wait for an in-depth ruling.

The issue was raised by Mr. P. Upendra of the Telugu Desam, who said that the fact of the letter had been denied neither by the President nor the Prime Minister.

The Lok Sabha is due to meet tomorrow, but the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, will not be here this week because of his preoccupation with the election campaign.

Two Opposition parties, the Telugu Desam and the BJP, have bitterly criticised the Prime Minister for his alleged violation of constitutional obligations in not keeping the President informed of matters of national importance.

The BJP in a statement demanded that the Prime Minister should either "gracefully acknowledge that he was in the wrong" or "honourably resign and seek a fresh mandate from the people".

On behalf of the Telugu Desam, Mr. P. Upendra, leader of its parliamentary party, wanted the Prime Minister, to "make amends" for misleading the House. Mr. Upendra urged that the President's letter—whether or not it could be treated as a message to the two Houses under Article 86(2) of the Constitution—be placed in Parliament.

The BJP statement, approved by its national executive members present here, recalled the charge-sheet drawn up by the party against the Rajiv Government, "listing a formidable tally of some 50 sins of omission and commission, and said: "Since then things have rapidly been going from bad to worse. The Postal Bill was a serious assault on democratic rights. During the last couple of months particularly, a series of disquieting episodes have occurred in breathtaking succession, which have exposed the Prime Minister as a person whose inexperience and immaturity, compounded by arrogance and a callous disregard of values and institutions, make him singularly unfit to rule this great country".

Referring to the events, leading to the resignation of Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran as Foreign Secretary and the transfer of Mr. V. P. Singh from Finance to Defence, the statement said: "The climax has come with the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament, glibly affirming that he had been dutifully discharging all his obligations towards the President, and that members who were suggesting that he had been violating conventions were only politicising that high office. This statement has invited a sharp rebuttal from the President himself."

President's duty

"Indeed, the President's letter to the Prime Minister is a damning indictment of the Government. The letter has not only corroborated the charge made by the Opposition members that the Prime Minister had thrown overboard well-established conventions insofar as the Prime Minister's relations with the President are concerned. The President has cited incontrovertible facts to show how the Prime Minister had been violating express provisions of the Constitution. The President has also said that the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament did not conform to facts. This, in effect, is an accusation that the Prime Minister has misled Parliament.

"If a President violates the Constitution, there is a sanction in it to arraign him—he can be impeached. But if a Prime Minister is guilty of disregarding the Constitution, the only sanction available to Members of Parliament is to invoke the intervention of the President. After all, the Prime Minister swears allegiance to the Constitution whereas the President swears to protect and preserve the Constitution. So, in certain situations, it becomes his duty to intervene. In this case, the President has sought to do his duty by communicating formally to the Prime Minister his disapproval of the latter's action," the statement said."

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CSO: 4600/1537

ANALYST ON RAJIV PLANS FOR GOVERNMENT CHANGES

Cabinet Changes Planned

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 Mar 87 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 6.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, will wait for the completion of the Presidential election before making any changes in the Congress (I) party organisation or the Central and State Governments, according to the latest indications here.

It is for this reason that he has decided to defer the appointment of a new Finance Minister as part of a wider Cabinet reshuffle at the Centre. At least three or four Chief Ministers are due to be changed and one or two of them may be accommodated in the Central Cabinet in the course of the proposed shake up in some of the States.

The situation in Orissa, for example, is becoming so untenable that it would be difficult for the Central leadership to continue to back Mr. J. B. Patnaik beyond a point. The in-fighting in Bihar, too, is getting worse and the Centre has already started looking around for an alternative leader who can run this problem State.

The Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. Bir Bahadur Singh, is in an equally unenviable position with some of the rival groups out to pull the rug under his feet. The fate of the Gujarat Chief Minister, Mr. Amarsingh Chaudhary, is equally uncertain since the central leadership of the Congress (I) does not appear to be satisfied with his performance.

P.M. unhappy

The Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. Motilal Vohra, on the other hand, is being backed by those who are opposed to Mr. Arjun Singh for one reason or the other, although his

Ministry also has come in for considerable criticism. The Prime Minister has not been happy with the way some of the Central Ministers have been interfering with the functioning of the Congress (I) Chief Ministers in their home States.

But Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is reported to be reluctant to take any action in these faction-ridden States until the Presidential election is over, since he does not want the dissident elements to create any controversy over the choice of the Congress (I) candidate and use this as a pretext to promote indiscipline. He would like to see the Congress (I) candidate elected with the fullest support of the party both in Parliament and the Assemblies in the States, frustrating the Opposition attempts to complicate this election.

The present President, Mr. Zail Singh, assumed office on July 25, 1982. The Congress (I) decided to put him as its candidate in the third week of June and his nomination papers were filed on June 23, 1982. The result of the election was announced around the middle of July and Mr. Zail Singh was sworn in 10 days later on the completion of Mr. Sanjiva Reddi's full five-year term.

The intention this time is not to delay the Presidential election until mid-July but complete it well in advance by June, leaving the Prime Minister free to make the contemplated changes within the party organisation and in the Central and State Governments. But so far Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has given no indication at all as to who is going to be chosen as the Congress (I) candidate for the office of President, since he evidently prefers to keep his preferences to himself for the present.

Plans for Secretariat

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Mar 87 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 10.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has been reviewing the functioning of his own Secretariat to see what way it could be improved to serve as a more effective nodal point of the government.

Apart from a Secretary, a Special Secretary, four Additional Secretaries, four Joint Secretaries, three Directors and several Deputy Secretaries and Under-Secretaries, there are several senior officers of the rank of Secretaries like the Information Adviser and Security Adviser in the Prime Minister's Secretariat.

In Nehru's time, the Prime Minister's office functioned as a small personal secretariat. It got expanded during the time of Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi, but Mr. Moraji Desai reduced its size during his brief tenure.

After her return to power, Indira Gandhi restored her Secretariat to its earlier size and even expanded the establishment to some extent. But after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister it got further expanded to the size of a full-fledged Ministry wielding enormous power in the higher direction of Government.

Fresh look: It inevitably led to a lot of criticism from other sections of Government about its style of

functioning and the kind of supervisory role it sought to establish over the

working of the whole Government. The Prime Minister is now taking a fresh look to see how best his Secretariat could improve its role without treading on the toes of senior Ministers or interfering unduly with the performance of their Ministries and Departments.

After he became Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took a conscious decision to dispense with the Chief of Staff system and abolish the post of Principal Secretary after Dr. P.C. Alexander, who had filled this office with great distinction had completed his tenure. But when he resigned rather abruptly as a moral gesture in the wake of the unfortunate spy scandal that rocked the Government, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, decided to decentralise his Secretariat and avoid concentration of all power at any particular nodal point.

Mini power centres: In actual practice, however, it ended up by creating too many mini power centres with all and sundry throwing their weight around in the name of the Prime Minister with no senior Secretary in charge to exercise the necessary overall control over the whole establishment. Apart from leading to avoidable frictions, this also led to a form of courtiership with even senior Ministers wanting to privately seek advice or even clear policy matters with those dealing with their respective Ministries in the Prime Minister's Secretariat, before forwarding the necessary files for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's approval or information.

The Prime Minister is now trying to streamline the functioning of his Secretariat by redefining its areas of responsibility and also emphasising its role in setting the right conventions for curtailing needless Governmental expenditure. The Cabinet sub-committees and the committees of Secretaries will be exercising greater authority in their respective spheres in future without providing post facto approval for decisions taken in advance.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has started wisely in taking a fresh look at the functioning of his own Secretariat, before making a critical survey of how the big Ministries and Departments of the Central Government exercise their powers in their respective spheres. His promise to Parliament to exercise rigorous control over wasteful expenditure has given him a chance to do something about unwieldy bureaucracy which is no longer performance-oriented but rule bound to an extent that it has become counter-productive.

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PAPERS REPORT ON MILITARY EXERCISE, 'BRASS TACKS'

General Sundarji Interviewed

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 7 Mar 87 pp 1, 9

[Article by L.K. Sharma]

[Text] BIKANER, March 6.

THE military exercise, "Brass Tacks", is being conducted exactly as it had been conceived before Pakistan made a hue and cry about it. There has been no change in either its scope, scale or direction.

The chief of the army staff, Gen. K. Sunderji, told newsmen who witnessed the exercise this week that "Brass Tacks", scheduled to conclude on March 15, would have tested for the first time in operational conditions new tactical concepts and indigenously developed equipment and systems, including elements of electronic warfare.

Among the concepts is that of reorganised infantry, with mechanised elements incorporated, to give the formation greater flexibility and mobility. The reorganised army plains infantry divisions (RAPIDS) form an important element of the deployed forces that include armoured and mechanised divisions, infantry and air assault formations.

Among the new equipment is the one developed over the past two decades for speedy and secure communications, called the army radio engineered network (AREN). The advanced digital electronic communication system provides the medium for a computerised command, control, communication and intelligence system (C3I).

C3I, which has been fielded on an experimental basis, has been rigged up with commercially available equipment which, depending on the pilot-scale operation, will have to be ruggedised to meet the defence specifications. It is acknowledged as a force-multiplier since combat power is

enhanced with the electronic capability to sense battle conditions and take faster decisions, leading to improved command and control.

Referring to this system deployed in the exercise, an American correspondent asked Gen. Sunderji if it did not establish superiority over the Pakistani forces. Gen. Sunderji reminded the correspondent that it was Pakistan that was getting such force-multippliers very fast and off-the-shelf, paying very little.

"This is our concern," Gen. Sunderji said, pointing out that the route India was following was a slow one because it was trying to develop the equipment. This required a long lead time, illustrated by the pilot fielding of AREN that had been conceived in the early sixties. Such systems would be a force-multiplier only when produced and deployed in great numbers, Gen. Sunderji said.

The chief of army staff questioned the view that India enjoyed a marked superiority over Pakistan in terms of a military balance and that it caused "alarm and despondency" in Pakistan. There was a rough parity of deployable forces on the two sides, he asserted.

The "Western friends" asked the question of superiority because of India's largeness and its industrial infrastructure, which were of no great advantage in a short, swift war, Gen. Sunderji said.

The fact of parity in deployable forces could be ascertained on the basis of internationally published figures with regard to India and Pakistan, after assessing India's ongoing requirements on the eastern and northern borders. Gen. Sunderji advised the correspondent to do this exercise in extrapolation himself.

Replying to a question on Pakistan's reaction to the exercise, Gen. Sunderji said it amused him. As far as he was concerned, "Brass Tacks" was nothing more than a training exercise.

From the information available at the exercise control room, it would appear that Pakistan's estimates of the magnitude of troops deployment in terms of divisions were baseless. In response to a question, Gen. Sunderji said it was difficult to give the exact number of persons involved but roughly some 150,000 men and officers, including some from the air force, could be engaged in the exercise. —

He was also amused by the estimates of the cost of the exercise. The only real added cost was that of the dislocation of civilian transport, such as the railways, because of the troops movement.

Gen. Sunderji explained that the equipment, even without the exercise, had to be moved and used as per the fixed limits per year. Instead of doing it in bits, it was being done simultaneously and in a co-ordinated manner. The officers and men remain on the payroll even during the non-exercise period, he pointed out with a chuckle.

Questioned further on Pakistan's reaction to the exercise, Gen. Sunderji said Pakistan, oddly enough, started reacting for the first time in October during the visit of the U.S. defence secretary, Mr. Caspar Wienberger, when not one man had moved under the exercise "Brass Tacks" from his peace-time location. And yet there was this "beating of the drum" about the missing of Indian troops.

Asked whether there could not have been better communication between India and Pakistan on the exercise, Gen. Sunderji said India had told Pakistan about the exercise and promised to let it know when the troops started moving. Accordingly, "we informed them in November when the first troops started moving." But strangely, Pakistan had started "beating its drum" about the exercise weeks before it was to have been started and then India was blamed for not keeping it informed. This was not fair, Gen. Sunderji said.

Gen. Sunderji also disclosed that Pakistan failed to inform India even when its own exercise was not quite normal as, for example, when its army reserve north started exercising near the border which had never been done before. "We did not get any prior intimation about it," he said.

The Indian troops were exercising 175 to 250 km. from the border with Pakistan, but the army reserve north of Pakistan had exercised quite close to the border, Gen. Sunderji said.

Besides communication, what was required was trust. If there was lack of trust, "we can say it is an exercise, the other side may choose to believe otherwise." In this case, Pakistan's troops deployment slightly upset the schedule of the fourth phase of the exercise that began on the night of March 4. It was running behind schedule by a few days.

"Brass Tacks" was only somewhat bigger than the earlier exercise, "Digvijay", also held in Rajasthan three years ago. These training exercises were necessary for updating tactics and organisation, for evolving tactical doctrines.

"Brass Tacks" one to three had very little to do with the "Brass Tacks" four in Rajasthan, apart from the common name. Under "Brass Tacks" one, the army headquarters had checked out certain hypothetical situations and hypothetical plans. This was run in July.

The officers were also introduced to electronic systems in the operations room. They were initially shy of the gadgetry as if it would turn round and bite, he said amid laughter.

Under "Brass Tacks" two, the western command ran an exercise for contingency planning for a counter-offensive. "Brass Tacks" three involved studies which would take about six months to analyse in New Delhi. These related to issues such as how to control air space or logistic requirements.

"Brass Tacks" four was the normal exercise undertaken every three to four years. This time, it was decided to use it for trying some new concepts also. These concepts were to be validated and then equipment had to be ruggedised, Gen. Sunderji said.

These concepts had to be evolved by each country, though basically one might not drastically differ from another. However, when it came to application, one could not lift a model from Central Europe and transplant in South Asia. It was a function of terrain and several other factors, he said.

The Indian exercise itself was conceived on the basis of its philosophy, which was defensive and not offensive. The rival forces had the same Indian organisation and command structure and not a simulated one of the potential enemy. Gen. Sunderji said this involved a trade-off since this was the only way one could test one's unique defensive formation, because no enemy had that.

Replying to a question on de-escalation on the Indo-Pakistan border, Gen. Sunderji said the situation was fine. The first phase of troops pull-back had been completed and the latest minutes signed in Islamabad for the second phase would be implemented by the two sides in good faith.

Disassembly of Troops

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Mar 87 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 16.

After the conclusion of the final phase of Operation Brasstacks last night, the disassembly of the Indian Army formations deployed in southern Rajasthan for this triennial exercise commenced today in accordance with the agreed schedule of withdrawals worked out at the last round of Indo-Pakistan talks on de-escalation.

The pull-out of Pakistan troops between Mandi Sadiq Ganj and Chhor, corresponding to Hindumalkot-Barmer on the Indian side, which was to commence on March 16 coinciding with the conclusion of Operation Brasstacks, started today with Pakistan's southern strike force preparing to go back to its peace-time locations.

The agreement reached on February 4, 1987, at the end of the first round of talks in Delhi, a time-limit of 15 days was set for withdrawing all offensive and defensive formations inducted into the Ravi-Chenab corridor on both sides. Similarly, a 15-day period was stipulated for the pull-out of troops from the Kutch sector south of Barmer-Chhor in the accord reached on March 2, 1987, during the second round of talks in Islamabad.

But no such time-limit has been set for the withdrawals commencing today between Hindumalkot-Mandi Sadiq Ganj and Barmer-Chhor, since it covers the bulk of the Indian formations brought into southern Rajasthan for Operation Brasstacks and the southern strike force of Pakistan and other support units massed across the Sutlej posing a threat to the southern Punjab through Ferozepore district. All that was stipulated was that all offensive and defensive formations on either side will commence their return to their peacetime stations from March 16, 1987, because of the logistics involved in the movements of such large numbers of armoured and infantry formations.

Phased manner: It will take India at least two months to move back all the units from the Brasstacks area to their normal stations in different parts of the country, since the railways will

need time to handle such big movements without interrupting normal passenger and goods services. So the Pakistan army is not going to complete the withdrawals on its side in any great hurry except in a phased manner corresponding to the Indian movements from southern Rajasthan.

An armoured division with all its paraphernalia requires an estimated 150 medium-sized freight trains to be moved from one place to another in normal circumstances. As two armoured divisions, one mechanised division and independent brigades had been involved in these exercises, the withdrawals in this area cannot be completed before the end of April or early May, which means that Pakistan will keep at least a part of its 1st Armoured division and support units opposite the Abohar-Fazilka sector of Ferozepore district for the present.

Third round of talks: The unavoidable logistical delays involved in completing the withdrawals in the southern Rajasthan-Sind area will not be a hurdle to the holding of the third round of talks in Delhi for discussing the withdrawals along the Punjab borders which is perhaps the most sensitive segment of the Indo-Pakistan border which is heavily guarded on either side even in normal times. It is the continued infiltration of Pak-trained terrorists across the border that led step by step to the recent crisis precipitating a near-war situation.

Though for internal security reasons India cannot agree to a comparable thinning out of its forces along the Punjab border in the present circumstances, it should not be too difficult for both sides to evolve a mutually acceptable procedure for pulling back the army units from forward positions and letting the para-military forces guard the border with such extra assistance that they might require from the border defence units. The Indian and Pakistani negotiators will have to agree on a pattern of de-escalation along the Punjab borders that would result in an effective defusion of tensions without in any way impairing India's internal security requirements.

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TIES WITH BANGLADESH SEEN TO DETERIORATE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 7 Mar 87 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 6.

TENSION on the western border has somewhat overshadowed the slow straining of ties with the country's eastern neighbour, Bangladesh, the total impact of which may be to make a solution of bilateral problems more difficult and embitter relations.

The queering of the pitch has occurred on almost all issues, from sharing of Ganga waters to repatriation of Chakma refugees in Tripura. Strong statements have been made in Dhaka, accusing India of an unhelpful attitude, if not hostile intentions. Postures have hardened, which can only complicate the situation.

Dhaka has, in fact, used its diplomatic skills successfully in cornering India on all issues that may help it extract more concessions from its neighbour. India has responded with silence, having become aware that the situation is largely of its own making.

Official spokesman in Dhaka have claimed that they have been sending reminders to New Delhi for the immediate resumption of talks on the Ganga, sharing of waters of other common rivers, transfer of Tin Bigha corridor, repatriation of Chakmas and ending of the trans-border insurgency. New Delhi has not sent any reply.

On the sharing and augmentation of Ganga waters, Dhaka quite logically argues that since the augmentation problem is being tackled in a tripartite forum, the sharing issue, which is bilateral, should be delinked from it. A separate long-term sharing agreement should be arrived at.

It is an invitation to India to walk into a situation where it will freeze indefinitely all its projects for the utilisation of Ganga waters in the upper reaches. New Delhi can ill-afford to do it, but apparently it is unable to face the facts of the situation squarely.

On the question of Chakma repatriation, Dhaka has successfully turned the tables on New Delhi. Initially, India had been insisting that Bangladesh take back the Chakma refugees who have taken shelter in Tripura. Now, Dhaka is demanding the return of the Chakmas but New Delhi is unable to

organise it, laying itself open to the charge that it has common cause with the rebel Shanti Bahini.

Dhaka has, in fact, conveyed its resentment on the question to New Delhi and urged an early meeting for implementing the Ershad-Rajiv agreement on ending the trans-border insurgency. For some reason, India finds itself unable to respond.

The inexplicable delay in the transfer of the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh, on the plea of constitutional difficulties, has led a Bangladesh minister to question the transfer of the Berubari enclave to India. He told the Bangladesh parliament recently that the transfer was unconstitutional because the Bangladesh constitution did not provide for the ceding of territory.

The anti-India sentiment in the ruling party has become so strong that the Bangladesh foreign minister, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Chaudhary, had to change a statement he made in parliament on the ownership of New Moore (Talpatty) Island in the Bay of Bengal.

Mr. Chaudhary had stated that a joint survey was being carried out to determine the ownership of the bay island and, in any case, the issue was not of any vital importance because the island remained under water most of the time. The next day, the foreign minister had to change his statement to declare positively that the island belonged to Bangladesh.

The external affairs minister, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, on his first visit to Dhaka soon after he assumed office, perhaps sensed the growing disenchantment between Dhaka and New Delhi but had no recipe to improve matters. He had claimed success in persuading Bangladesh to take back the Chakma refugees, but that too turned awry.

On his return, Mr. Tiwari requested the West Bengal chief minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, to take a diplomatic voyage to the neighbouring country on behalf of the Centre.

Mr. Basu obliged. He paid a visit to Bangladesh on the pretext of visiting his ancestral village, but the chief minister's diplomatic exercise does not seem to have paid off, though he was given a hearty welcome wherever he went.

INDIA

MENON LETTER TO FOREIGN SERVICE OUTLINES TASKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Mar 87 p 9

[Text].

NEW DELHI, March 16.

In the customary letter to all Foreign Service Officers at the headquarters and the missions abroad after taking over as Foreign Secretary, Mr. K. P. S. Menon has said his main task would be to restore morale and make the Ministry once again an efficient instrument for promoting and implementing India's foreign policy.

The candid, seven-page letter has touched on the main weaknesses and shortcomings in the working of the External Affairs Ministry. According to Mr. Menon, the Foreign Service officers had to pull themselves out of the trough they had descended to and shed the air of cynicism which pervaded the Foreign Office corridors. His endeavour would be to bring back the self-respect and confidence of belonging to an elite — not an elite of birth or privilege but of achievement.

A divided house: One of the main reasons why the Ministry is being seen as a divided house with little cohesion or sense of purpose, is the fact that officials were being accustomed to looking to outside authority for even those decisions which should be taken within the Ministry itself. While it was inevitable that foreign affairs could not be the preserve of only the External Affairs Ministry, it should not be assumed thereby that officials could bypass the decision making channels of the Ministry by bringing to bear influences, both governmental and non-governmental on matters concerning the Ministry.

Though Mr. Menon did not specify instances when this had happened, he made it clear that he would not tolerate officials who played politics. The back-door approach, the whispering campaign, the introduction of pressures from

outside the Ministry, the formation of cliques, he found repulsive. An individual here or there might gain from such practices, but it is the Ministry that would suffer.

Referring to the internal working of the Ministry, Mr Menon said henceforth the administration would not entertain more than one representation against a decision. An officer must be bold enough to accept an unfavourable decision without continual sniping. And the pernicious practice of bringing outside influences to bear upon the decisions of the Ministry would have to stop.

Gossip: Mr. Menon also warned his officers about talking to outsiders about postings, promotions, fortunes and misfortunes. This retelling of gossip tended to weaken the Ministry. Also, if a diplomat could not hold his tongue, he wondered what type of diplomat he was. According to his view, a diplomat must have the personality to make his view count, but he should not hog the limelight. On the whole, the role of the prima donna ill becomes the professional diplomat, he said.

The letter then referred to the carelessness and the lack of thought in dealing with requests made by missions to the headquarters and writing to members of the public. It referred to the duplication of work, the very poor state of file work, and the sloppy drafting of notes.

Mr. Menon, however, made it clear that his intention was not merely to concentrate on the shortcomings of the ministry. He was aware of the many merits and the excellent way it has performed in many difficult circumstances. He only wanted to share his perceptions to establish a rapport and help in the effective functioning of what he called a united ministry.

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CSO: 4600/1522

NEW SEPARATIST GROUP SEEN FORMING IN DARJEELING

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Mar 87 p 9

[Text]

JALPAIGURI (West Bengal), March 16.

While the call for boycott of elections in the hill areas of Darjeeling district, given by the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF), has attracted wide notice, a call for poll boycott by the so-called "Uttarkhand Dal" has evoked less attention. Senior police and civil officials in Jalpaiguri profess even to be ignorant of such a call and maintain that it would have little impact on the poll in Jalpaiguri district.

Unlike in the hill areas of Darjeeling district where no one can escape the militant exhortations for poll boycott in posters and banners, there is little public campaign for a boycott. Nevertheless, political workers actively engaged in the election campaign concede that the call may evoke some response in Jalpaiguri district where the agitation for a "Uttarkhand", separate from Darjeeling, has some support, especially among the original inhabitants of the region, the Rajbangshis.

Left front view: Left Front leaders, of course, see the demand for "Uttarkhand" as another instance of well-planned conspiracies by imperialist agencies to counter the advances made in West Bengal under the Left Front Government and, in the long run, to achieve the dismemberment of the country. They also accuse the Congress (I) of being hand in glove with the separatist and potentially secessionist forces like the GNLF and the "Uttarkhandis".

While imperialist conspiracies cannot be ruled out, it is also true that the basic failures of Government policy have substantially contributed to separatist trends among the various ethnic groups in Bengal and in several other parts of the country.

Broadly, the call for poll boycott may evoke

some response in some pockets covering Falakata, Dhugpuri, Mainaguri and Rajganj constituencies, all in Jalpaiguri district and the constituencies reserved for scheduled castes. In all these constituencies, the sitting MLAs have been renominated, one of whom, Mr. Banamali Roy of the CPI (M) from Dhugpuri, is a Minister. The other sitting MLAs, all belonging to the Left Front (all the 12 seats in Jalpaiguri district were won by the Left Front candidates in 1982) who may have to reckon with the possibility of some sort of a poll boycott from at least a section of the electorate are: Mr. Jogendra Nath Singha Roy of the CPI (M) from Falakata, Mr. Tarak Bandhu Roy of the RSP from Mainaguri and Mr. Dhirendra Nath Roy of the CPI (M) from Rajganj.

'Call to vote Cong (I)': The Left Front leaders, of course, maintain the 'poll boycott' is actually a call for voting for the Congress (I) and pointedly draw attention to the fact that during his visits to north Bengal, once in the third week of December and earlier this month, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, devoted his speeches to attacking the Left Front and, especially, the CPI (M), while not saying a word against the separatist activities of the GNLF or the "Uttarkhandis".

How serious is the demand for "Uttarkhand" which, according to its proponents, is to include the whole of north Bengal division, comprising Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, West Dinajpur and Malda districts? On the face of it, the demand appears totally unrealistic even if one were to accept the concept and definition of "Uttarkhandis" as proposed by its proponents.

More serious developments: The demand has any way been overtaken by the more serious developments in a part of Darjeeling dis-

trict (claimed by "Uttarkhandis" as part of their own homeland) where the GNLF agitation has made great gains and reduced all other political parties to a state of virtual irrelevance. But that is not how Mr. Panchanan Mallick, chairman of the presidium of "Uttarkhand Dal", sees the situation. Mr. Mallick, who is around 60 years of age, has been canvassing for "Uttarkhand" for several years now and has contested several elections too unsuccessfully on this plank. He has also sent several memoranda to Indira Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Recently, Mr. Mallick visited Guwahati and tried to canvass support from the Assam Chief Minister for his demand for "Uttarkhand".

Assam Govt. backing sought: A self-confessed admirer of the Assam agitation and of the present Assam Government, Mr. Mallick, told this correspondent in a two-hour conversation at his village home in Churabhander, about 15 km from Mainaguri, that the success of the Asom Gana Parishad had made him more than ever firm in his conviction that the salvation for the indigenous people of north Bengal lay in regional politics and regional parties. He maintained that the region was historically part of ancient Assam (Prachin Kamrup) and had artificially been tagged on to Bengal. Only a separation from Bengal and the development of closer relations with Assam would save the indigenous people of the region from total domination and subjugation by the "Bengalis."

Non-committal: The AGP Government has naturally been non-committal in its contact (if it can be described as contact) with the "Uttarkhand Dal" and even Mr. Mallick said that the Chief Minister, Mr. Mahanta, merely accepted his greetings and memorandum and said he would look into it.

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CSO: 4600/1522

WRITER ALLEGED TO HAVE VIOLATED OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT

Press Note Explains

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

Mr S Gurumurthy, a friend and adviser of the *Indian Express* group of newspapers chairman R N Goenka, has been arrested and charged under the Official Secrets Act. Mr Goenka's Sunder Nagar guest house was raided on Friday because Mr Gurumurthy frequently stayed there and not because *Indian Express* had printed a letter purportedly written by the President to the Prime Minister, the CBI clarified in a press note on Saturday.

According to the note, the CBI has been on Mr Gurumurthy's trail since December when a case was registered against him under the Official Secrets Act "in respect of some articles published in the *Indian Express* relating to licences issued to Reliance Industries Limited".

The case was filed because the reports, written by Gurumurthy, "contained verbatim extracts from the Government files of the concerned departments". His house was subsequently searched on 21 December, 1986, and certain incriminating documents were seized.

On 11 March, the note adds, "reliable information was received which clearly indicated that Mr Gurumurthy and some others have been in contact with certain foreign detective agencies and certain sensitive information in Government files was being passed on to them."

The CBI also learnt that Mr Gurumurthy frequently stays in the Sunder Nagar guest house when in Delhi. While several houses of Mr Gurumurthy and his associates in Madras and Bombay were planned to be

searched on 13 March, the Sunder Nagar house was kept under watch.

On 13 March afternoon, it was noticed that some papers were brought out from the Sunder Nagar house and were being burnt. A person, allegedly associated with the case, was seen going to the house in the evening. By this time searches had been carried out in Madras and Bombay and incriminating documents were seized.

On noticing these suspicious movements in the Sunder Nagar house, the CBI obtained a search warrant and after searching the house seized certain incriminating documents. All rooms, barring one occupied by Mr R N Goenka, were searched.

The press note has clarified that the search warrant was shown to Mr Goenka and the signature of his Secretary was obtained in token of having pursued the grounds for the search. After the search, a copy of the search list was sought to be handed over to Mr Goenka but he refused to accept it. A copy of the search list has been sent to him by post subsequently.

Documents: The CBI on Saturday presented 10 documents seized during the raid in the court of the duty magistrate at the New Delhi Courts C K Chaturvedi, adds PTI.

The presentation of documents seized in raids to the magistrate's court is a statutory obligation under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, CBI sources said.

The sources refused to comment on the nature of the documents and said, "investigations are continuing." The file given by the CBI to Mr Chaturvedi

would now be sent after perusal to the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate, Delhi.

Mr Gurumurthy after his arrest at his Madras residence was produced before a city magistrate later and remanded to police custody until 16 March when he is to be produced before the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate in New Delhi.

The magistrate, Mr J Venkatesa Pzxumal, rejected a bail application filed on behalf of Gurumurthy saying it would not be proper to grant bail in view of the seriousness of the allegations against him which had to be investigated.

To the magistrate's query whether he was ill-treated by the police, the *Indian Express* columnist replied in the negative.

Earlier, the CBI deputy Legal Adviser, Mr A T Dante submitted that certain government documents recovered from the house of Gurumurthy during CBI raids last December and today were stolen property. Enlarging him on bail would seriously affect the investigation which had reached a 'crucial stage'.

The CBI legal adviser further said if Gurumurthy was released on bail "so many things would get blocked" and the purpose of his arrest would be defeated.

Besides, his articles against Reliance Textiles last November had extensively quoted certain files of the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports office which had "wider ramifications". His release at this stage would make it difficult for the investigating agency to get into "his sources".

Defense Counsel's Statement Reported

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 18 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, March 17 (PTI): The counsel for Mr S. Gurumurthy, adviser to the Indian Express group of publications, has said in the chief metropolitan magistrate's court that his client had been in touch with a leading detective agency in the United States for collecting information in connection with the articles he wrote about Reliance Industries.

Arguing for Mr Gurumurthy's bail application yesterday, the defence counsel, Mr Ram Jethmalani, submitted that Mr Gurumurthy had visited the US in October in connection with his investigations and had contacted the detective agency through a leading firm of lawyers but found its services

too expensive. Mr Gurumurthy was contacted by officials of the enforcement directorate on his return.

"The enforcement directorate then hired the Fairfax Detective Agency to further its investigation into the Reliance affair," Mr Jethmalani said.

The CBI said it was learnt that some industrialists had paid large sums of money amounting to thousands of dollars to the agency as fees for services rendered. This was done without RBI permission and constituted an offence under Fera.

It contended that it was necessary to interrogate Mr Gurumurthy to find out about the public servants who passed the government documents.

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CSO: 4600/1535

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF SOVIET SCIENTIFIC DELEGATION

Talks Begin, Content

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

The talks between high-level Indian and Soviet delegations of scientists, led by Prof C N R Rao and academician G I Marchuk, respectively began in Delhi on Saturday with both sides proposing cooperation in concrete terms in specific areas of frontier sciences.

Leader of the 24-member Soviet delegation, a Deputy Prime Minister and Soviet Academy of Sciences president, is believed to have proposed about 10 areas for concrete cooperation between the scientists of the two countries. He has also offered facilities for a specific number of Indian scientists to work in Soviet laboratories, it is learnt.

Prof Rao, director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, Secretary, Department of Science and Technology Dr Vasant Gowariker, and academician Marchuk, addressed the opening round of talks.

It is learnt that they stressed the need for cooperation in such areas as mathematics, physics, computer technology, material metallurgy, aeronautics, agriculture, biotechnology, management of water resources, energy, space and oceanography.

Besides expanding and strengthening cooperation in existing areas, they are believed to have emphasised the need

for finding new spheres with the aim of long-term goals in the frontier areas of technology that would yield the best results for both countries.

The Soviet scientists will later visit various Indian scientific institutions to set a better understanding of the work being done in them.

A concluding session will be held on 21 March at which the various proposals made, the broad terms of the agreement arrived at through mutual discussions, etc, will be discussed.

Some of the other members of the Soviet delegation are A L Yanshin, (geologist), A M Prokhorov (physicist), R Z Sagdeev (space scientist), A N Skrinsky (nuclear physics), A E Sheindlin (energy specialist), F A Kuznetsov (Inorganic chemist) and A P Dunaev, chairman of the Soviet Space Agency, Glavkosmos.

The 31-member Indian delegation includes Dr V S Arunachalam, Dr B K Bachawat, Dr R Chidambaram, Dr L K Doraiswamy, Dr V K Gaur, Prof S K Joshi, Mr Maheshwar Dayal, Dr A P Mitra, Prof R Narasimha, Prof A S Paintal, Dr S Z Qasim, Dr S Ramachandran, Prof U R Rao, Dr M R Srinivasan, Prof Yash Pal and Mr T N Seshan.

More Details Given

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Mar 87 p 7

[Article by Rajiv Shah]

[Text]

Moscow, March 14 — Soviet Deputy Prime Minister and president of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union Guri Marchuk head the delegation of leading Soviet scientists and leaders of advanced technologies to India.

The Marchuk delegation which has arrived today will focus its talks on the realisation of big projects and creation of new collectives and joint scientific centres and also on building such enterprises where results of joint scientific research are quickly tested and applied.

Mr Marchuk has identified certain specific areas where space research can be applied immediately by both the Soviet Union and India. These include formation of climatic changes and long term and short term prognosis of the impact of seasonal changes through meteorological rockets.

The delegation comprising of top 40 odd experts, including vice president of Soviet Academy of Sciences A L Yanshin, V A Koptyug, A M Prokhorov, A E Shedlin, A A Bayev, G K Shryabin, all top scientists and members of the academy, will visit India's leading scientific centres and familiarise themselves with the level of research there, an informed source added.

The delegation whose level is the highest even since the first visit of Soviet scientific experts to India led by academician V P Volgin under the invitation of the then interim government led by Pandit Nehru in January, 1947, will also try and search possibilities for widening scientific and technological cooperation in the machine building sector, electronics, and geological studies.

Academician A K Kartashov, one of the members of the delegation, has reportedly predicted that India will be allowed to take part in the long-term research at present underway in the Soviet Union to create thermonuclear reactor known as *Tokhamakh*, an international project likely to be completed by the year 2000.

The Soviet leadership here attaches considerable importance to this high level scientific delegation. Mr Marchuk was the brain behind the acceleration strategy for scientific and technological retooling on a modern basis, sources say. This strategy was adopted by Mr Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress.

One of the most eloquent critics of the previous methods of application of science and technology based on extensive growth through building new enterprises, Mr Marchuk says this led to low returns from investment, low mechanisation level and a declining rate of renewal, leading to undesirable effects on the economy.

This trend is now being reversed by paying attention on the development of engineering fields such as flexible automated lines, rotary conveyor lines, and the development, manufacture and application in national economy of computer facilities and automated system.

Mr Marchuk also is the main architect of the idea to set up a network of intersectoral scientific and technological complexes in the Soviet Union to eliminate departmental barriers arising out of independent development of different industrial branches without keeping in view the fresh scientific and technological requirements of others.

Interview With Member

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by O.P. Sabherwal]

[Text] Eminent Soviet scientists Alexander Sheindlin, a member of the high-powered Soviet scientists' delegation in New Delhi for talks on Indo-Soviet scientific cooperation, sees prospects for breakthrough in several critical areas in the power sector by joint research and technology development.

In an interview, academician Sheindlin identified two new areas, in which advanced research had taken place in the Soviet Union, for further development and application in India. These were the coal gasification process to produce synthesis gas, and use of solar energy for heating and cooling of buildings, as well as drying of agricultural produce.

Another frontier technology in the power sector— magneto hydrodynamic (MHD) technology for direct conversion of thermal heat into electricity — was already the subject for cooperation between the two countries. An experimental MHD facility was already in operation in Trichy and cooperation between the two countries in this field could be extended.

Sheindlin is an outstanding scientist in thermal physics and heads the Institute of High Temperatures near Moscow, one of the leading Soviet research centres. He is the chief designer of the world's first 580 megawatt MHD power unit, now under construction in the USSR. In the past few years, he has been engaged in research in the comprehensive processing of solid state organic fuel and the production of synthetic liquid and gaseous fuels, as well as thermal action on oil pools for enhancing their productivity.

The Soviet scientists elaborated on his offer for joint research, made during the first round of talks between the Indian and Soviet scientists' delegations, in the new technologies in the power sector. The coal gasification process to produce synthesis gas can be used for direct production of iron from iron ore as well as in metallurgy. It could also be used for production of synthetic liquid gaseous fuels.

During the gasification process, it has been found that a gas which was the compound of hydrogen and carbon (H_2-CO) was produced, a product of great industrial value as both gases—hydrogen and carbon dioxide — possess reduction ability to convert iron ore into pure metal.

The Soviet scientist felt India can be one of the most advanced country in the world in development of the coal gasification technology and its diverse applications.

Answering a question of the cost effectiveness of coal gasification for use in developing synthetic liquid gaseous fuels, as replacement for petrol and fuel oil, Sheindlin observed that cost effectiveness has come by mastering the technology. Commercial plants based on the process will be longterm objective. Over the years depletion of petroleum resources is bound to push its prices upwards and those of synthetic liquid fuels downwards.

Reverting to his proposal for joint work in the field of solar energy, he specially earmarked developing the technology for direct heating and cooling of buildings. In winter, solar energy could be tapped for converting it into heat, while in summer cooling could also be done by special equipment based on the principle of physical absorption of heat. There is a new technology in making using solar light for heating as well as for heat absorption. Both functions could be of great significance for India.

Sheindlin observed that other problems of modern power engineering could be taken up for joint research and development between India and Soviet Union as work on the new technologies gets under way.

In regard to the MHD reactor in Trichy, the Soviet scientist said it is one of the most advanced MHD small-scale reactor in the world. Talks had been going on for some time for cooperation in setting up a 25 MW pilot plant based on MHD technology.

The Soviet Union agrees to take up scientific research for this project jointly. It would be prepared to discuss the specific devices for the project that the Soviet Union could provide. Soviet technological assistance was also available to India for the purpose. (IPA)

PAPER GIVES CONTENTS OF DRAFT NATIONAL HOUSING POLICY

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Mar 87 p 5

[Text]

A draft national housing policy has been prepared to focus on a long range strategy to increase housing activity with particular emphasis on housing for the poor. The draft has been sent to the State governments, other organisations and experts for their comments and views, according to a Government release on Saturday.

The draft policy aims at helping every family to own an affordable shelter by 2001 and to encourage people to build and improve their own houses. The objectives of the policy include providing security of tenure to households in urban and rural areas and making available affordable developed land for housing.

It also provides for developing suitable legal and institutional infrastructure for accelerating the pace of house construction and strengthening the necessary infrastructure and services for the development of healthy human settlements.

Legislative measures: Rent control laws and the Urban Land Ceiling Act are envisaged to be suitably amended to encourage investment in the housing sector and to make more land and resources available for housing for economically weaker sections and low and middle income groups. Provisions relating to mortgages in the relevant laws are proposed to be amended to enable financing institutions to give loans on mortgages without collaterals which would improve the flow of finance to home owners.

Immediate administrative and legal measures are proposed to be taken for declaring housing as an industry so that institutional finance and other facilities may become available for house construction both in public and private

sector. Urban planning laws and development control regulations would be reviewed to secure optimum utilisation of land.

While high rise buildings may continue to be relevant to metropolitan areas, planning regulations shall be so framed as to promote low rise, high density development with strong socio-economic and environmental advantages. Relevant rules and regulations shall be amended to provide for conservation of buildings of historic, cultural, architectural and aesthetic importance.

The draft points out that a successful land development policy is a precondition to the housing needs and to implement this policy, the States and Union Territories will have to play an effective role to counteract speculation in land market and facilitate supply of land for housing, especially for disadvantaged groups.

Housing finance: The creation of a National Housing Bank at the apex level has also been recommended to broaden and strengthen institutional framework for the provision of housing finance. The bank, among other things, shall provide requisite refinance facilities and mobilise resources for the housing sector. Housing and Urban Development Corporation shall be further strengthened to comprehensively deal with weaker section and low income housing. All possible steps shall be taken to strengthen the cooperative movement in housing and for removing inhibiting factors and bottlenecks in their development.

The fiscal incentives covering income tax, wealth tax and gift tax are proposed to be reviewed and

rationalised to attract private investment in housing. Provision of adequate concessions in sales tax, stamp duty and other taxes on transfers, conveyances, leases and mortgages between the approved financing institutions or developers and the first owners shall be given due consideration.

Use of locally available and low cost building materials shall be encouraged and efforts made to upgrade traditional building materials through appropriate research. While the appropriateness of large panel prefabrications in the Indian context is yet to be established, partial prefab factory made building components to facilitate speedier housing construction of improved quality shall be encouraged.

Housing agencies and development authorities shall be reoriented to function more as facilitators of developed land finance and technology and encouraged to continue to play the role of builders for economically weaker sections. An efficient planning and management system shall be created in public institutions and other housing agencies. Private and non-governmental institutions will also be helped to improve their management the draft national housing policy document points out.

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CSO: 4600/1535

REPORT ON TIWARI'S PORT OF SPAIN PRESS CONFERENCE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Mar 87 p 7

[Text]

Port of Spain, March 15
(PTI)—India hopes that the Geneva talks under the UN auspices will succeed in resolving the Afghan issue, External Affairs Minister N D Tiwari told a press conference here.

Asked about India's stand on the Afghan problem, the minister said that its policy was for a non-aligned Afghanistan, free from foreign intervention. He met the press at the airport here before flying to New York last night after a two-day visit to Trinidad and Tobago.

Mr Tiwari defended India's action in placing its troops on alert on the border with Pakistan recently and said that the situation had been created by the deployment of Pakistani forces, compelling India to take counter-measures. However, he noted that the situation had "defused quite a bit" now.

Answering a question on Pakistani nuclear programme, Mr Tiwari said that this was a matter

of very serious concern for India. Public opinion in India was greatly agitated over the issue, he added.

Mr Basdeo Pandey, Foreign Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, who was also present at the press conference, read out an official statement from his government which said that his talks with Mr Tiwari had confirmed a close identity of views between the two countries on various issues.

The two ministers said that India and Trinidad and Tobago would set up joint ventures in ceramics, marine development, pharmaceuticals and some other areas. Efforts would also be made to boost tourist traffic between them.

Visit of Tiwari, the first Indian Foreign Minister to come here, has been welcomed in editorial comments in local newspapers. The two countries signed a cultural agreement during the visit.

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CSO: 4600/1535

PAPER REPORTS COMMERCE MINISTER'S SPEECH IN DHAKA

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Mar 87 p 9

[Text]

Dhaka, March 15 (UNI) — Commerce Minister P Shiv Shankar on Sunday cautioned that any attempt on the part of developed countries to shift the focus of debate on international trade and development from UNCTAD to less universal and narrowly conceived forums would yield ad hoc, partial and ideologically oriented solutions.

Addressing the ministers of the Asian group of the G-77 on the 2nd day of their meeting here, Mr Shiv Shankar said these solutions were based on unproved assumption that spontaneous outcome of the market process would ensure all round growth and development.

"This belief in the efficacy of the unbridled market forces is neither theoretically tenable nor consistent with the historical and contemporary experience", he added.

Mr Shiv Shankar pointed out that this dangerous approach expected the nation states to accept in the name of liberalisation, an obligation to abandon social and economic structures to the market forces. This would ensure for the transnational corporations a quasi-sovereign right to move freely across borders, goods, serv-

ices and capital at their discretion.

The leader of the Indian delegation said the initial conditions of the international economic system as embodied in Bretton Woods institutions have been transformed fundamentally over the last decade and a half. This has produced a state of disequilibrium in international economic relations.

He deplored that instead of initiating a thorough-going re-examination of the theoretical foundations of the international economic system and launching a cooperative search for an enduring political basis for the harmonious and suitable reconstruction of such relations, attempts were being made to shift the focus of debate in UNCTAD away from the central policy issues.

The UNCTAD VII to be held in Geneva in July next would provide the developing countries with a signal opportunity to launch a dialogue in search of a stable international economic system. This would enable the international community to deal with the formidable challenge confronting it and to pursue the goal of development and employment for all.

In India's view such a system

should be based on the principles of equality harmony and universality, Mr Shiv Shankar added.

He said the expansion of trade was one of the most effective means for achieving the objectives of development and employment. The principles of multilateralism and non-discrimination should constitute the corner stone of expansion of trade.

Liberalisation could be accepted as an instrumentality for promotion of trade, provided it contributes to the realisation of the development objectives. It will have to be ensured that opportunities created for the expansion of trade are not now thwarted by restrictive business practices of private operators.

The system should have a sound and equitable underpinning in the monetary and financial spheres. It should facilitate durable and equitable solutions to the debt-crisis, consistent with the overriding requirement of maintaining acceptable rates of growth in the debtor countries, more importantly, it should secure substantial increase in flows of financial resources for development on an assured, continued and predictable basis.

Mr Shiv Shankar said the ten-

dency on the part of some developed countries to seek linkages between trade in goods and other matters such as developing countries' policies in regard to foreign direct investment, protection of intellectual property services and fair labour standards was a serious development in recent years.

Trade which is a means of self-reliant development is in danger of becoming an instrument for imposing unacceptable linkages on developing countries dependent on trade, he added.

Mr Shiv Shankar said UNCTAD is facing an unprecedented challenge and its basic approach is being seriously questioned. At this critical juncture, the Asian group should aim at an outcome of the meeting which would reinforce the solidarity of G-77 and furnish a renewed basis for development cooperation.

Nepalese Minister for Commerce B P Thebe stressed the need for economic and technical cooperation among the developing countries. The land locked countries' transportation problem should be given priority, he said.

The Dhaka declaration will be adopted on Monday.

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CSO: 4600/1535

POWER DEFICIT IN COUNTRY WORSENS DURING 1985-86

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Mar 87 p 9

[Text]

The power position in the country worsened in 1985-86 with a 7.9 per cent shortfall in power supply.

According to the Confederation of Engineering Industries of India (CEI) the demand for power stood at 170745 GWH and the supply aggregated 157260 GWH, leaving a yawning gap of 13485 GWH.

In 1984-85, the power deficit was around 6.7 per cent.

Transmission and distribution losses were as high as 21 per cent in 1985-86.

A comparision with other countries in transmission and distribution reveals poor management by the Indian power industry, a CEI survey reveals.

Last year, transmission and distribution losses in Japan were 5.3 per cent, in the Federal Republic of Germany 4.7 per cent.

Another distressing fact revealed by the survey is a substantial increase in the cost per megawatt of power from Rs 24 lakh in the first Five Year Plan to Rs 159 lakh at the end of the Sixth Plan. In 1986-87, the cost per megawatt of power is expected to be Rs 218 lakh.

Capacity utilisation in thermal stations fell short of the plant load factor (PLF) norm of 58 per cent. It stood at 52.4 per cent in 1985-86. It was, however, an improvement over the PLF of 44.6

per cent in 1980-81.

CEI has forecast on the basis of current trends that the average growth rate of demand for power during the Seventh Plan (1985-90) will be about 9.6 per cent per annum.

The peak load is expected to touch 49278 MW in 1989-90, 78438 MW in 1994-95 and 125400 MW in 1999-2000.

The survey shows that over the years allocations for the power sector have increased from 13.3 per cent in the First Plan to 19 per cent in the Seventh Plan.

In 1985-86, the share of power outlay in the total plan outlay was 18.6 per cent at Rs 5999.8 crore. In 1986-87, the outlay rose to Rs 7405.71 crore and stood at 19 per cent of the total Plan outlay.

Despite successive increased Plan allocations for the power sector, the achievements fell far short of the targets. As against the target of 19666 MW or 28 per cent at the end of the Sixth Plan.

The highest realisation was in the First Plan period when 85 per cent of the target was met. In the Sixth Plan the realisation was 72 per cent.

About distribution, the survey says, the industrial sector continued to be the bulk consumer of commercial energy at 55.52 per cent followed by agriculture at 18.76 per cent and domestic sector at 13.19 per cent.

The share of the industrial sector in total energy sales, however, has decreased sharply from 67.7 per cent in 1970-71 to 55.52 per cent in 1984-85.

The share of agriculture and domestic sectors rose from 10.2 per cent and 8.8 per cent to 18.76 per cent and 13.19 per cent, respectively.

Within the industrial sector, the engineering industry accounted for the bulk of energy consumption at 35.8 per cent in 1983-84.

An analysis of regionwise data on per capita consumption of electricity indicates that the Western region is far ahead at 242.34 KWH of the other regions and also above the national average of 167.30 KWH.

The per capita consumption in the Southern region aggregated 184.34 KWH followed by the Eastern region with 108.74 KWH and North Eastern region with 44.25 KWH.

Territory-wise Delhi topped the list in per capita consumption with 518.32 KWH followed by Chandigarh, 286.70 KWH, Maharashtra 291.58 KWH, Gujarat, 281.80 KWH, Haryana 228.98 KWH, Pondicherry, 229.01 KWH and Tamil Nadu, 228.72 KWH.

West Bengal lagged far behind with 128.51 KWH, much below the all India average of 167.30

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CSO: 4600/1535

INDIA

BRIEFS

TAMIL NADU MINISTERS--Madras, March 16.--The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr M.G. Ramachandran, today dropped two Ministers--Mr K.A. Krishnasamy (Labour and Local Administration) and Mr Anoor P.G. Jagadeesan (Rural Industries) from his Cabinet, reports PTI. Mr. Krishnasamy was ranked number four in the Cabinet. A Raj Bhavan Press release said that the Food Minister, Mr S. Ramachandran, would be put in charge of Mr Krishnasamy's portfolios while the Transport Minister, Mr S. Muthusamy, would take over from Mr Jagadeesan. Raj Bhavan sources said the Chief Minister, in a letter, had asked the two Ministers to be relieved immediately. The Press release said the Governor, Mr S.L. Khurana, had accepted this. The Ministers are being relieved forthwith. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 17 Mar 87 p 1] /13046

SOVIET CIVIL AIRCRAFT--Moscow, March 4.--An Indian technical delegation has signalled interest in the leasing and eventual purchase of Soviet aircraft for Air-India and Indian Airlines, reports PTI. India has hitherto bought only military aircraft from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Minister of Aviation Industry, Mr Lapollon Systsov, and his deputies yesterday agreed to provide India documentation on performance records, noise level and fuel utilization of Soviet planes. They also agreed to send a delegation of technical, economic and operational experts for discussions with Indian experts. The agreement came after two rounds of discussions which the Indian delegation, headed by Dr S.S. Sidhu, Secretary, Civil Aviation Ministry, has had with the Soviet side. Dr Sidhu told reporters that his delegation has signalled to the Soviets an interest in long-term cooperation in this area. However, a clear view would emerge after studying Soviet documentation and discussions with the delegation that would come to India, he said. He said the Soviets had "a good capability" in the integration of primary and secondary radars among airport equipment. They also had rapid intervention vehicles which could be an item for production cooperation. He said India and the Soviet Union could work together in the development of microwave landing systems which the International Civil Aviation organization wants all countries to adopt by 1996 in place of the current instrument landing systems at airports. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 5 Mar 87 p 5] /13046

HINDI ADVISORY PANEL--New Delhi, March 15. The Government has reconstituted the advisory committee on Hindi to shape the policy on propagation and development of the language. The Director, Central Hindi Directorate, will

be the member-secretary of the committee which will function up to December, 1989. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Mar 87 p 16] /13046

RUSSIAN LEATHER IMPORTS--Madras, March 11. The Centre has decided to import 100 tonnes of hides from the Soviet Union as an experimental measure for use by tanneries in the country. The imported hides to be distributed through the State Trading Corporation, will be given to any tanner willing to use it to make leather products for export. The Soviet Union has agreed to buy back shoe uppers from Indian exporters for making shoes in Russia. The shipment will be in seven containers, each with nearly 14 tonnes of hides. The price is currently being negotiated with the Soviet authorities. The import come under the existing bilateral trade arrangements, according to the Chairman, Council of Leather Exports (CLE), Mr. M.M. Hasim. Mr. Hashim, who returned here last week after attending a seminar in Moscow, said this deal had been concluded under the Union Commerce Ministry's scheme of liberalised import of raw materials for the leather industry. At a seminar organised by the CLE here on Wednesday, Mr. Hasim said, any tanner could approach the STC for imported hides. It is likely that the hides may come in through Madras Port and distributed all over the country. [Excerpt] [Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Mar 87 p 16] /13046

SOVIET ENGINEERING HELP--Madras, March 4. A team of experts from USSR has come to India to help in construction of several dams in Himachal Pradesh and other areas by using the various new techniques developed in the Soviet Union, according to Mr. C.V.J. Varma, Member-Secretary, Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi. Addressing a press conference here today, he said that in the USSR, among other things, a technique for directional blasting has been developed, which saved lot of time during foundation excavation work for dam constructions. In India too, new techniques were being developed. But some of the greatest advances have been in the development of fibre reinforcement materials and geo-textiles, which reduced the cost of construction. In fact, the country was in a leading position in this field and the R and D work was on par with achievements, anywhere in the world. [Excerpt] [Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Mar 87 p 3] /13046

PACT WITH TRINIDAD--Port of Spain, March 14 (PTI): India and the Caribbean nation of Trinidad and Tobago have signed their first cultural agreement, providing for exchanges in a wide variety of activities -- art, culture, education, mass media and sports. Mr. N.D. Tiwari, the first Indian foreign minister to visit this country, signed the agreement here on Friday with his counterpart, Mr. Basdeo Panday. The agreement will initially be for five years, to be renewed automatically unless either country desires otherwise. Trinidad and Tobago, with some 52 per cent of people of Indian origin among its 1.2 million population, wants an Indian cultural centre to be set up in the country. Mr. Tiwari promptly agreed to have that done by the next Divali. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Mar 87 p 15] /13046

TRUCKS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA--Bangalore, March 14 (PTI)--The public sector Bharat Earth Movers Limited (BEML) has entered into a collaboration with Tatra Koprvice of Czechoslovakia for the production of heavy duty trucks to meet the defence and civilian needs for on and off-the-highway transportation.

So far, these trucks were being imported, involving heavy foreign exchange out-go. Production of the carriers, to be marketed under the brand name BEML-Tatra trucks, would be taken-up during 1987-88 by BEML at its Bangalore complex, an official press release said. These trucks would be powered by 355 HP Air-cooled, fuel-efficient engines, and could be used for transporting loads up to 12 tonnes, including towing army tanks over the roughest of terrains under varied climatic conditions, the release added. [Text]
[New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Mar 87 p 9] /13046

BRITISH MINING AID--Britain will provide India two grants totalling 104.65 million pounds--73.65 million pounds for Hindustan Zinc Mine and smelter and 31 million pounds for the coal sector. The grant agreements were signed by joint secretary in the Finance Ministry Kamalesh Sharma and Richard Samuel of the British Overseas Development Administration, who led the UK delegation to the Indo-UK aid talks held in Delhi on 10 March. The grant to 73.65 million pounds will be for the development of a zinc and lead mine at Rampura-Agucha and an associated smelting complex at Chanderiya, both in Rajasthan, according to a British Information Services release. The objectives to which the project is expected to contribute include reduction of imports of zinc and lead, introduction of British technology for smelting and achievement of cost-efficiency in production, the release says. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Mar 87 p 9] /13046

INDO-INDONESIAN TAXATION PACT--India and Indonesia on Monday reached an agreement on avoidance of double taxation, reports PTI. The decision was arrived at during the two-day visit to Jakarta of the Minister of State for External Affairs, Natwar Singh on 1 and 2 March, according to official information received in Delhi. The agreement will be signed with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia Mochtar Kusumaatmadja visits New Delhi at the invitation of Mr Natwar Singh. The two Foreign Ministers devoted a considerable part of their exchanges to a discussion on Kampuchea. Both sides found the meeting useful and agreed to keep in touch. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 6 Mar 87 p 11] /13046

TIWARI IN NEW YORK--New York, March 10 (PTI): The foreign minister, Mr N.D. Tiwari, has said the Indian government is in no way involved in the campaign by the Indians here to stop the sale of US spy planes to Pakistan. Talking to a group of Indian community leaders here at the weekend, Mr Tiwari said although New Delhi was not involved in the campaign, it was pleased that the community here had mobilised its efforts for a worthy cause. The minister's remarks were made at a closed-door meeting, but sources at the get-together gave details of his comments, which were later confirmed by an official close to Mr Tiwari. The foreign minister's remarks follow accusations by a section of the Pakistani ethnic media here that the Indian community was trying to stop the sale of Awacs (airborne warning and control systems) planes to Islamabad at the behest of the Indian government. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH 11 Mar 87 p 3] /13046

INDO-ITALIAN CULTURAL PACT--The Indo-Italian cultural exchange program for 1987-89 was signed in New Delhi yesterday. The program envisages cooperation between the two countries in the fields of education, art, culture, science,

radio and television, youths [activities] and sports. It also proposes holding of film weeks in each other's countries, apart from participation in the international film festivals organized in the two countries. [Text]
BK160627 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 13 Mar 87] /13046

DEBTS TO IDA--New Delhi, March 4.--At the end of last year India's debts on account of credit repayment to the International Development Association totalled \$9.5 billion. This was stated by the Finance Minister in a written answer to a question in the Lok Sabha today by Mr Murli Deora (C-1). The Minister said that IDA's allocation for the next fiscal year of the World Bank was yet to be finalized. As regards the outstanding credits, it was stated that the amount was scheduled to be repaid before the end of 2,036 in accordance with the repayment schedule applicable to different loans. The period of maturity of these credits was 50 years with a grace period of 10 years. The liability for repayment remained fixed in terms of foreign exchange, and did not vary with fluctuations in the exchange rate, it was clarified. In reply to another question by the same member, the Minister for Planning explained that the estimates of national income savings and the like were prepared by the Central Statistical Organization in January of the following year while the Reserve Bank of India usually comments on the performance on the economy in its annual report in August to November on the basis of the earlier year's estimates by the CSO. This was the reason for the variation in the two data. The Planning Minister also said that in accordance with the recommendations of the Raj committee the two agencies were now in constant touch to avoid wide variations in data. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 5 Mar 87 p 9] /13046

CSO: 4600/1538

Z. A. BHUTTO'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY ATTRACTS LARGE CROWD

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Apr 87 p 1

[Article by Dastgir Bhatti]

[Text]

LARKANA, April 4: In a highly charged atmosphere dominated by frequent roar of 'Jeay Bhutto' slogans, Miss Benazir Bhutto opened the proceedings of her father late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's eighth death anniversary at Gharl Khuda Bux Bhutto amongst a massive congregation which proved to be yet another major political event in recent history.

In her address Miss Benazir Bhutto termed the 4th April as a day of 'Karbala' accusing the military rulers of having killed her father, the only elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. She contended that hundreds of her party workers had also passed through such 'Karbala'. "But we are determined to face more such agonising days to bring about a social change in the body politic", she pledged. Miss Bhutto paid rich tributes to her father who, she said, 'instead of bowing before the tyrants embraced death for the cause of the downtrodden people'.

She said that the late Bhutto had brought politics out of the palaces to the streets. She vowed to continue the struggle with the belief that peoples victory was inevitable and no power on earth could reverse the wheel of the history.

Others who paid homage to the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto included Malik Mohammad Qasim, the Secretary General of the MRD, Gen. (Retd) Tikka Khan, Secretary General of the PPP, Jehangir Badr, President PPP Punjab, Sardar Ibrahim President PPP Azad Kashmir, Sheikh Rafique Ahmed,

Central Information Secretary of the PPP, Aftab Sherpao, President PPP NWFP, Hussain Bux Narejo Central Information Secretary of ANP, Maulana Siraj Deenpuri, Pervaiz Saleh, Qazi Mohammad Bux Dhamrah, Begum Nadira Khakwani, Begum N.D. Khan and other PPP leaders from Sind.

In the evening a 'Mushaira' was held with noted poet Ahmed Faraz in the chair. The poets paid glowing tributes to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. A seminar was also held in which several prominent writers and intellectuals read their papers throwing light on the life and struggle of the late Bhutto and the objectives of Bhuttosim.

Today's participation was assessed to be the largest during the last eight years, the main reason being the PPP Chief's presence on the occasion. Ironically this was the first time since April 4, 1979 that Miss Bhutto got a chance to participate in her father's death anniversary. In the past she was denied the opportunity because of her incarceration exile.

The proceedings began in the early hours of the morning with Quran Khawani and fateha at the mazar of the late Bhutto. Amongst thousands of mourners who included men and women of all ages, Miss Benazir placed a floral wreath on her father's grave. So thick was the throng that many people fainted inside the boundary walls of the mazar due to heat and suffocation. The workers of 'Shahid Bhutto Mazar Committee' rescued the stranded persons by breaking the walls of the mazar.

There were hundreds of young PPP loyalists who reached here marching on foot for several days. These long marchers have come from different districts of Sind. Many have travelled on bicycles.

The participation from Punjab was considerably higher than in the previous years. The PPP stalwarts from NWFP and Baluchistan were also conspicuous. Bhutto's 'bars' today demonstrated the unity of the people of all the four provinces. In the small village of Garhi Khuda Bux tents were also installed to facilitate the PPP workers coming from far-flung areas. There were 22 camps to meet the requirements of the party delegations from each division of the country.

The official bomb detectors searched the venue of the event before the beginning of the proceedings. The Mazar Committee had arranged exhibition of photographs, paintings and posters highlighting the events which occurred during PPP government and the struggle of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Right from the city of Larkana PPP camps were seen helping and guiding the participants. There was complete strike in Larkana and the adjacent towns.

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CSO: 4600/199

PRESIDENT ISSUES REGULATION ON GOVERNMENT LAWS IN TRIBAL AREAS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Apr 87 p 1, 8

[Text]

RAWALPINDI, April 4: In exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (4) of article 247 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the president is pleased make the following regulation: In respect of application of certain laws to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of NWFP says a Press Note issued here today:-

Text of the regulation is as follows:

Short title: a regulation: To apply certain laws to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North West Frontier Province.

Whereas it is expedient to apply certain laws to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North-West Frontier Province:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause(4) of Article 247 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the President is pleased to make the following regulation:-

1. Short Title, Extent and Commencement:- (1) This regulation may be called the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North West Frontier Province (Application of Laws) Regulation, 1987. (2) It Extends to the whole of the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North-West Frontier Province. (3) It shall come into force at once..

2. Application of laws to the Tribal Areas:- The law specified in the schedule as in force in the North-West Frontier Province immediately before the commencement of this regulation, and so far as may be, all rules, notifications and orders which may have been, or may be, made or issued thereunder, shall apply to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North-West Frontier Province, hereinafter referred to as the said areas.

3. Certain laws to cease to operate (1) If, immediately before the commencement of this regulation, there was in force in the said areas

any law, instrument, custom or usage having the force of law corresponding to the provisions of the laws applied to those areas by this regulation, such law, instrument, custom or usage shall, upon such commence, cease to have effect in the said areas. (2) nothing in sub-section (1) shall affect- (A) the previous operation of such law, instrument, custom or usage; or (B) any obligation, liability, penalty, forfeiture or punishment incurred in respect of any offence punishable under such law, instrument, custom or usage or (C) any investigation, legal proceeding or remedy in respect of any such obligation, liability, penalty, forfeiture or punishment; and any such investigation, proceeding or remedy may be instituted, continued or enforced, and any such penalty, forfeiture or punishment may be imposed as if sub-section (1) had not come into force.

The President has also been pleased to make the following regulations in exercise of powers conferred on him by Clause (5) of Article 247 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan , according to the Press Note issued here today.

TEXT:

Regulation: To apply certain laws to the Federally Administered Tribal Area.

Whereas it is expedient to apply certain laws to the Federally Administered Tribal Area.

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (5) of Article 247 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan the President is pleased to make the following regulation:-

1. Short Title, Extent and Commencement-(1) This regulation may be called the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Application of Laws) Regulation, 1987. (2) It extends to the whole of the

Federally Administered Tribal Areas. (3) It shall come into force at once.

2. Application of Laws to the Tribal Areas:- The Laws specified in the schedule as in force in the North-West Frontier Province immediately before the commencement of this regulation, and, so far as may be, all rules, notifications and orders which may have been, or may be, made or issued thereunder, shall apply to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas hereinafter referred to as the said areas.

3. Certain laws to cease to operate:- (1) If immediately before the commencement of this regulation there was in force in the said areas any law, instrument, custom or usage having the force of law corresponding to the provisions of the laws applied to those areas by this regulation, such law, instrument, custom or usage shall, upon such commence, 405 commencement, cease to have effect in the said areas. (2) Nothing in sub-section (1) shall effect- (A) The previous operation of such law, instrument customs or usage or (B) Any obligation , liability, penalty, forfeiture or punishment incurred in respect of any offence punishable under such law, instrument, custom or usage or (C) Any investigation legal proceeding or remedy in respect of any such obligation liability, penalty, forfeiture or punishment and any such investigation, proceeding or remedy made by instituted continued or enforced, and any such penalty forfeiture or punishment may be imposed as if sub-section (1) had not come into force.

According to another Press Note the President has been pleased to make the following regulation in respect of capital Issues (continuance of control) Act, 1947 (XXIX of 1947) to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of NWFP: Text: A regulation: To

apply the Capital Issues (continuance of Control) Act 1947 to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North-West Frontier Province.

Whereas it is expedient to apply the Capital Issues (continuance of Control) Act 1947 (XXIX of 1947) to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North-West Frontier Province:

Now therefore, In exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (4) of Article 247 of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan the President is pleased to make the following regulation:-

Short title, Extent and Commencement: This regulation may be called the Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Act (Application to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North West Frontier Province Regulation 1987.

(2) It extends to the whole of the Provincially Administered Tribal areas of the North West Frontier Province.

(3) It shall come into force at once Application of act Act XXIX of 1947 to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas: - The Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Act, 1947 (XXIX of 1947) as in force in the North West Frontier Province immediately before the commencement of this regulation and so far as may be all rules notifications and orders made or issued thereunder shall apply to the whole of the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of the North West Frontier Province.

3. Certain laws to cease to operate
(1) If, immediately before the commencement of this regulation there was in force in the said areas any law instrument, custom or usage having the force of law corresponding to the provisions of the said act, such law, instrument, custom or usage shall, upon such commencement cease to have effect in those areas.

2) Nothing in sub-section (1) shall effect (a) The previous operation of such law instrument, custom or usage; or (b) Any penalty, forfeiture or punishment incurred in respect of any offence punishable under such law, instrument, custom or usage or (c) Any investigation legal proceedings or remedy in respect of any such penalty, forfeiture or punishment; and any such investigation, proceeding or remedy may be instituted, continued or enforced and any such penalty, forfeiture or punishment may be imposed as if sub-section(1) had not come into force:—APP.

/12828

CSO; 4600/199

COMMENTARY VIEWS AFGHAN CRISIS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by Khalid Akhtar]

[Text]

Much of the high hopes generated for the early solution of the Afghan crisis have now evaporated. The Afghan tangle remains as complex an affair as ever before. There are all the indications that the worst of the Afghan crisis is not yet over. The recent Afghan bombing which took a heavy toll of human life in Tri Mengal area (nearly 150 killed) and the shooting down of an Afghan warplane by a PAF jet are frightening developments. These incidents have deepened the shadows over the area of the conflict and nobody knows what will happen next.

MARATHON EXERCISE

It is doubted that the Geneva parleys will resume on schedule. The talks have been a marathon exercise and have proved their utility. The hammering out of the three instruments (out of four) which will form the basis of the overall settlement of the Afghan crisis is quite an achievement. But notwithstanding all this, the Geneva process has all along remained dependent on East-West relations and this has placed the final resolution of the Afghan crisis beyond the scope of the Geneva forum.

This is evident from the way the whole Geneva process was thrown into the doldrums by America in 1983 when the settlement of

the Afghan issue looked at hand. President Ziaul Haq said a few days back that the resolution of the Afghan crisis is not to be found in the Geneva talks; it is to be thrashed out in Soviet-U.S. talks. Unfortunately Mr. Armacost's parleys with the Kremlin leaders in Moscow have not gone well and prospects are dim that Mr. Shultz's coming talks in the Soviet Union will achieve a breakthrough either. In the background of all this, even if the unfinished VII round is reconvened at the earliest, it is least likely to produce anything concrete.

The situation is more complicated than it appears on the surface. The Afghan issue has bilateral, regional and global aspects. Sadly, there has been no movement forward in any of the three spheres. Closely linked to the

rival superpowers as Islamabad and Kabul are, their manoeuvrability in bilateralism has remained greatly restricted and impaired. There has been virtually no regional approach to the crisis. India due to its close ties with Moscow and cordial relations with Washington has been in a good position to help resolve the Afghan tangle, but Delhi's anti-Pakistan posture has rendered it incapable of playing the role of a mediator and peace maker. The trend at the superpower level has not been encouraging either. Here the declining authority of President Reagan and the West's failure to comprehend Gorbachev's policy of 'glasnost' (there is a view that the West's response is deliberate and intentional) have combined to reduce the 'manageability level' between the two superpowers.

The European factor has added to the complexities of the East-West relationship. In the matter of its defence, Western Europe has remained distrustful of both

its ally, the U.S. (whom it has suspected that it may not watch its security interest well) and the common enemy, the USSR. None of Moscow's Eastern European allies is a nuclear state. In contrast two Western partners of U.S.—France and Britain— are nuclear powers. Ironically it was Schmidt's cry of insecurity (the former Chancellor otherwise advocated friendly relationship with the Kremlin) that paved the way for the development of Pershing-II missiles in West Germany and Great Britain. Again Gorbachev's sweeping nuclear proposals at Reykjavik have panicked Western Europe. Significantly, Western Europe has striven to maintain its nuclear identity. And this has made progress in nuclear talks extremely difficult. It is very unfortunate that the West has made the Afghan issue hostage to the arms accord. This is too great a price being extracted from the East.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights situation in the Soviet Union is another issue that the West has linked with the arms accord. Now the Soviet Union human rights record has never been a spectacular one. But none can deny that since the days of Khurshchev the human rights situation has not been more relaxed in the Soviet Union than it is at present. Moreover Nixon negotiated Salt-2 with Mr. Brezhnev when there were greater human rights

violations in the Soviet Union. The West's over-emphasis on the human rights issue at this stage seems to be misplaced and has remained largely inexplicable.

Speaking at a banquet (hosted for Mrs. Thatcher during her recent visit to the Soviet Union) Mr. Gorbachev betrayed his frustration, if not bitterness, over the West's response to various Soviet moves to revive detente. He accused the West of repeatedly backtracking on the nuclear issue and stepping up efforts to sabotage the Afghan peace process. (He was probably referring to the renewed supply of Stinger missiles to the Afghan Mujahideen). Mr. Gorbachev appears to be giving all the indications that he will soon be drawing a line 'thus far and no further' in seeking the resolution of outstanding disputes. It will be very sad if Mr. Gorbachev's policy of 'glasnost' is misunderstood by the West or by any quarter, including Pakistan.

'STRATEGIC LEVERAGE'

The Afghan situation, has placed in America's hands a 'strategic leverage' vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. America has even swallowed the bitter pill of Pakistan's nuclear programme to keep the Afghan pot boiling. The view is gaining ascendancy that there has been a quid pro quo on the part of the two states: the U.S. accepting Pakistan's nuclear programme but in return expecting Islamabad to follow the American line vis-a-vis the Afghan issue and Pakistan on its part getting American aid and, more importantly, probably also a covert U.S. approval of its nuclear programme.

What has made the situation more explosive is the Jamaat and ANP confrontation over the issue. The two have viewed the whole affair in a different perspective. This approach besides widening the cleavages in the society has helped the Government to adopt

a stance towards the Afghan crisis that hardly reflects a national consensus. There have been times in the country's history when the two parties assembled on the same platform and worked in unison and harmony for the achievement of a particular objective. Their close association in UDF and PNA are two such examples. It will be a worthwhile exercise on the part of Wali Khan and Mian Tufail to initiate a dialogue to seek areas of 'convergence' and narrow down the spheres of divergence between the two parties regarding the Afghan issue. This will lessen tension on the national scene, and may in the final analysis help the country to adopt a more positive approach to the issue.

IMPLICATIONS

The fallouts of the Afghan crisis are difficult to manage even now; they will become virtually unmanageable if the Afghan crisis persists for any longer period. Worst will be the implications of the probable stationing of the U.S. AWACS, manned by the Americans, in the country. (A Foreign Office spokesman said a few days back that Pakistan was considering the possibility of requesting the U.S. to station its AWACS in the NWFP to counter the growing incidence of the country's airspace violations by the Afghan planes). If stationed, the sophisticated and highly sensitive AWACS, will monitor large areas, including some parts of the Soviet Union, most of the Gulf region and the Indian mainland. This will deepen Pakistan's involvement in superpower rivalry and worsen Islamabad's ties with Delhi. And finally, with the Gulf war in its crucial stage, and the American role anything but neutral, the stationing of U.S. AWACS can create a very nasty and embarrassing situation for Pakistan. It will be another strategic setback for Pakistan. If in the process its ties with Iran are affected,

Pakistan's ties with the United States are very important. The U.S. has quite a share in the development of Pakistan. But this does not mean that Islamabad should underestimate the importance of reasonably good relations with the Soviet Union. Unfortunately Pakistan has often stumbled in this sphere. Nearly 36 years ago Pakistan slammed the door on the Soviet Union when the country's first Prime Minister, the late Liaquat Ali Khan, rather short-sightedly ignored the Soviet invitation for a visit to the Kremlin and instead proceeded to the United States. It was bad diplomacy and Pakistan had to regret it. The Pak-Soviet relations are again at a crossroad. Gorbachev has given enough indications that he wants to make a break with the past and establish better ties with Pakistan. Islamabad will do well to respond in a similar spirit.

/12828

CSO: 4600/199

OFFICIAL URGES DEVELOPING MIDEAST TOURISM

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 6 Apr 87 p 6

[Text]

KARACHI, April 5: There exists a great potential for promoting tourism to Pakistan from the middle eastern countries, said Begum Viqarun Nisa Noon, chairman, PTDC here yesterday on her return to Pakistan after a whistle-stop promotional tour to Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Dubai. During her stay in Jeddah, she attended "Safar 87", a travel fair, where PTDC had set-up a stall.

She met a large number of tour operators and officials of the Saudi government and discussed with them the possibility of arranging package tours to Pakistan. She informed them of the tourist products which could attract not only the expatriates working there but also the Arabs for whom Pakistan is a second home.

Begum Noon said that though Pakistan was not striving to become a mass tourist country, there was great potential both for lovers of adventure and tranquillity. "Our northern areas provide an ideal site for people interested in trekking and mountaineering" She added.

"She said that, recently, a group of 9 Saudi tour operators visited Pakistan as the guests of PTDC. During their stay in Pakistan, they went around and found plenty of goodwill for Saudis in Pakistan. They are now planning to arrange package tours from Saudi Arabia to Pakistan.

At a Press conference in Saudi

Arabia, Begum Noon said that relations between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were deep-rooted and will grow stronger with the passage of time. She said she was amazed at the vast progress made in the industrial field in the kingdom.

She said that a large number of expatriate community lives in the middle east and, if properly projected, Pakistan can get a good share of expatriate tourists. After attending the fair in Jeddah, Begum Noon went on a private visit to Bahrain and Dubai.

In Bahrain, she met the Minister of Information, Mr Tariq Al-Moayed and Shaikh Rashid Bin Khalifa-Al-Khalifa, director of Archaeology and other officials of tourism department. In her talks with the Bahrain officials, she was assisted by the ambassador of Pakistan to Bahrain, Mr. A Wahab Khan.

Begum Noon also met a number of tour operators and impressed upon them the need for close cooperation with their counterparts in Pakistan. She informed the tour operators that although the government of Pakistan is anxious to welcome overseas travellers, tourism is proposed to be fostered on a selective and qualitative basis.

She said, Pakistan shares a common religion and social belief with the countries of the gulf and, as such, is regarded as the second home by the tourists from region.

She told them that tourist attractions in Pakistan were available at the most competitive rates in the world.

The PTDC Chairman said that she believes that the growth of foreign tourism throughout the South Asia region is very much linked with the development of mutual cooperation among its countries.

She said that the five member countries SAARC have a lot to gain not only by creating more opportunities for leisure travel by their citizens but also by encouraging tour operators to prepare visits for outsiders that cover the area as a whole.

She advised the SAARC countries to explore the possibilities of including some of the Gulf countries such as UAE within the ambit of a regional tourism development strategy.

Begum Noon, after a short visit to Bahrain, undertook a visit to Dubai, where she met leaders of travel trade community. She said Dubai provides good potential for promoting tourism to Pakistan as there is a very large expatriate community there which goes for vacation to neighbouring countries. Pakistan can profitably exploit the close proximity to Dubai to advance its tourist interests.

Begum Noon said that although her visit to Bahrain and Dubai was private, she had been able to meet a lot of officials and discuss with them the possibility of promoting tourism.

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SRI LANKA

DAILY ON POSSIBILITY OF CEASEFIRE, INDIAN STANCE

BK110331 Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 31 Mar 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Rajiv's Appeal"]

[Text] Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's call last Friday for an end to violence in Sri Lanka has the merit of being more explicit than more previous Indian utterances. Mr Gandhi, who is seeking acceptance of the December 19th proposals as a starting point, has unambiguously said that killings must be stopped: that attacks--whether by armed men or the military--must be brought to a halt.

The futility of the present slaughter in Sri Lanka is obvious enough to most observers. It can lead to nothing constructive. It cannot save the guerrillas--now hopelessly outgunned and outnumbered. It cannot hold any promise of a realisation of their cause of a separate kingdom or state. At most, it can only lead to new burdens: economic stagnation, the interruption of educational and development programmes and continuing insecurity for the larger community of Tamils themselves, wherever they might be.

Heroics do not alter the course of history in times like our own. The epics of the past, our Tamil friends surely are realistic enough to acknowledge, belong to a heroic past that has vanished for ever. In India, Union Ministers P. Chidambaran and K. Natwar Singh have had talks with some of the Tamil militant groups based in Madras.

The Tamil militants would display wisdom to heed the Indian call. It is more than a love call. It is a serious declaration of a growing truth. No victory will come to the Tigers from sporadic ambushes under a diminishing hit-and-run capability.

Not that the horrendous scenes of blood-letting we have witnessed so far have had no impact whatever. They have increased public awareness of the depth of minority bitterness; of minority frustrations and stirred the government and large sections of the majority community to see the need to go into and remedy and grievances that the Tamils could be labouring under.

The LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] reaction to the proposal to end the fighting has been to demand such an initiative from the security forces.

That reaction is anything but mature. This is not the occasion for any circular arguments. The LTTE surely know that the government has previously adopted a pre-arranged ceasefire. Who broke that truce? The government is strong enough to seek the substance of a negotiated peace: strong enough not to seek the petty advantage of scoring some propaganda point.

Surely, Anton Balasingham and Lawrence Thilager know that a ceasefire can be mutually agreed upon to bind both sides simultaneously [no closing quotation marks as published].

Surely, the plea for prior enforcement on one side is both puerile and unconvincing and unflattering?

The repeated offer by the government for roundtable talks clearly implies a basic commitment to peace, a commitment to end all hostilities and with it, the economic embargo which, by itself, has proved how hopelessly the Tigers are outmatched. But it is surely not the purpose of the people in the South to heap any indignity on people who have been ready to lay down their lives, however mistaken their cause, or however excessive the price.

Even today, the government is taking every step possible to check excesses even against the guerrillas. As for the civilian population in Jaffna and the East, few will deny that the troops have gone a long way to establish that there is no fight between themselves and law-abiding people.

The Tamil militant leaders must respond to a call not from any enemy, real or imagined: but from a friendly country: a country which has sheltered them and given them, whether intended or not, perhaps, some symbol of hope.

To lay down arms according to an agreed ceasefire then would be no sign of weakness. It would be a mark of wisdom. Some spark, perhaps, of the wisdom of men like the Mahatma himself?

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SRI LANKA

BRIEFS

JAPANESE ASSISTANCE--The Japanese Government has committed 5,255 million rupees as economic development assistance to Sri Lanka for the year 1986-87. Of this amount Japan will provide 1,710 million rupees as grant aid. This was stated by the newly appointed ambassador of Japan to Sri Lanka, Yasuya Hamamoto in an exclusive interview with the Sri Lanka Broadcast Corp. yesterday. Mr Hamamoto presented his credentials to President Jayewardene yesterday. [Excerpt] [Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 24 Mar 87 BK] /9599

CPCZ DELEGATION--Colombo, 26 Mar (CTK correspondent)--A Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation led by Central Committee member Vlastimil Ehrenberger, minister of fuel and power, held talks with Sri Lankan Communist Party leaders on the activities of their parties and the situation in their countries and in the world today. The Communist Party of Sri Lanka was represented by its General Secretary K. P. de Silva and Chairman Peter Keuneman. They noted that the two parties had completely identical views on the complex international situation, condemned the militarist policy of imperialism led by the United States and voiced support to the Soviet peace proposals which are aimed at ridding the world of the threat of nuclear war. They stressed that they were prepared to further extend their cooperation in the interest of the people of Czechoslovakia and Sri Lanka, progress and peace in the world. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1106 GMT 26 Mar 87] /9599

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